

The Commonweal

A Weekly Review of Literature, The Arts and Public Affairs

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THE SUPREME COURT DECISION

THE SUPREME COURT'S decision declaring the Guffey Coal Act unconstitutional, while not unanimous, being a six to three verdict, is in some respects more definitely a blow at the New Deal than was the unanimous decision in the Schechter case, which overthrew the NRA. The latter law involved a tremendous network of industrial activities, while the Guffey law was concerned with only one industry. In both cases the crux of the issue was that the Congress acted to extend federal authority over matters which the Constitution reserves to the authority of the forty-eight states, so far as the states themselves can lawfully exercise authority. In both cases, however, the Supreme Court swept away the laws created by the Congress because they conflicted with the fundamental and higher law established by the Constitution. This action has now been taken in eight instances, all of them of great importance. The "hot oil" case, the railroad pen-

sions case, the AAA, the Farm Mortgage Moratorium, the Rice Millers case and the Securities Act of 1935 were the other occasions which obliged the Supreme Court to declare that what the Roosevelt administration sought to accomplish was illegal because unconstitutional. Whatever reforms or national benefits were contemplated by the administration were not judged by the Supreme Court. They may or may not have been essentially desirable; but the Court is not there to judge intentions or motives; its function is to determine whether or not the Congress in seeking to embody its reforms in laws binding upon the people has or has not acted legally; that is, in conformity with the fundamental law of the Constitution.

In the case of the Guffey Act, there is a general agreement that conditions prevailing in the soft coal (bituminous) industry are exceptionally in need of some sort of effective means of better-

ment. Destructive competition has prevailed on a wide scale, for a long time. Even when all other great industries have been prosperous, this one has been "sick." That is to say, the stockholders in the mines were not making profits. As for the misery and suffering of the miners, and their wives and children—that has been extreme, and atrocious, and notorious. The further fact that soft coal mining is "a natural resource" industry—that is to say, that it is the exploitation of wealth created by nature itself, and not man-made, not the creation of inventive genius—"has argued," as the *New York Times* puts the matter, "more strongly than in the average case for some form of governmental regulation or supervision." A large number of soft coal mine owners and operators, despairing of success after many failures, in trying to solve their problems among themselves and the miners and the various state governments, had accepted the Guffey Act, and now are deeply disappointed by its invalidation. But there is the iron fact: that invalidated it is. More clearly than in other cases, the Supreme Court says "No!" to all attempts by Congress to use the federal power to solve any industrial problem in a manner contrary to the Constitution. It would seem, then, clearly to follow that only an amendment to the Constitution expressly granting to the federal government greater powers than at present it has can open the way for federal control of wages and hours and prices.

But that is a fundamental issue, which is of such gravity that only a clear conviction on the part of a great majority of citizens could justify it. And such a conviction should not be merely an emotional belief; it should be a reasonable one. It would be impossible to argue it reasonably in the few months now left of the present campaign. But it probably will arise—and it certainly should arise—after the election, and become the major issue for 1940.

Meanwhile, the effects of the Guffey decision will become apparent in the current campaign, it seems to us, mainly by sharpening the conflict between supporters and opponents of the New Deal. The utterances of many labor leaders indicate that two lines of action will be followed. One will be a great effort to win labor votes for President Roosevelt in states usually safe for the Republican party, particularly Pennsylvania. The statement made by Daniel J. Tobin, president of the International Brotherhood of Teamsters, is typical of the view taken by many other labor leaders. "Every worker of every class," he said, "is pledged to President Roosevelt to vote for him at the next election as a result of the [Guffey law] decision. The decision has established in the minds of the workers the fact that the court is reactionary, is living in ages past, and that Franklin D. Roosevelt is a friend of the worker. I hope

that we can all work to the end that we will elect a Congress that will find some way of passing legislation to replace the Guffey Act."

This view, of course, is essentially a sentimental, emotional view; but its strength in determining millions of workers to support an administration that seems to have the interests of labor at heart, even if its efforts are unconstitutional, and, therefore, fail, is very great, and, in the long run, will serve to bring the issue of amendment of the Constitution clearly into the arena. What John L. Lewis said is clearly indicative of this tendency. "It is a sad commentary on our form of government," he declared, "when every decision of the Supreme Court seems designed to fatten capital and starve and destroy labor." Which, of course, is nonsense. It is clear that the Supreme Court may protect and strengthen capital, at the expense of labor, by the effects of a particular decision, but to accuse it of designing the starvation and destruction of labor is silly. Yet such a belief exists and gives driving power to the political resentment of labor.

The second way in which labor is reacting to the Guffey law decision was indicated by William Green, president of the American Federation of Labor, who declared that "if we cannot enact legislation of this kind in an orderly way, we will be irresistibly drawn to use our economic power." Labor's right to form and maintain unions and collectively to bargain with capital, according to many labor leaders, must be enforced by labor's own strength. Against this view there thunders forth the rejoicing chorus of the champions of free competition and (paradoxically) of monopolists as well, who hail the Supreme Court's decision as the confirmation (many times made) of their own conviction that both labor and capital are best served if government is kept out of the picture. And so our crisis ever deepens.

Week by Week

WASHINGTON reached no immediate decision concerning ways and means of getting the citizen to pay more for government. The Senate committee, after lengthy and not always amicable parleying, scrapped what the House had solemnly endorsed and began to fashion a "compromise." Unquestionably the principal news given out was that another increase in the normal income tax on individuals looked like the solution. The matter is of the greatest importance because it involves all the theories of what federal taxation ought to be. Is the present function of the tax "socialistic"—i. e., is it the instrument with which a wider distribution of industrial profits can be effected? Should

The
Trend of
Events

the visible basis be reasonably broad, or should it be extended proportionally to all who earn anything, so that the cost of government remains clear at all times to everyone? These are highly significant questions, because the power to tax is manifestly that through the use of which government can most effectively influence the social order. That opposition to "radical" changes in this as well as other aspects of the national life is solidifying may be seen reflected in the experience of Senator Borah. Disturbed by evidence that the "liberal idea" was being fought hard in Republican circles, the Senator threatened to "take a walk for himself" and therewith caused a serious flurry the immediate scene of which was New Jersey. What is really going on behind G.O.P. curtains is another story, and we can merely point to the analysis by Charles Willis Thompson which graces this issue. His article was completed just before the Supreme Court decision on the Guffey Coal Act was made public. Obviously this verdict must to a certain extent affect the political outlook in the mining states.

AUSTRIA'S "corporative state" has long since been largely an affair of personalities. To what extent there is unity of direction and fixity of purpose can hardly be determined by men close to the government, so that the remarks of an outsider (and it seems to us that the average foreign correspondent writing from Vienna is a rank outsider) are of perilously little importance. Nevertheless the policy of Schuschnigg is in a measure clear. This man realizes that no state can thrive on a group of private armies. He has therefore disbanded his own and has made a brave attempt to dissolve Starhemberg's Heimwehr as well. He knows also that the Hapsburgs cannot return until the working classes are assured that restoration will mean something better than the suppression of democratic institutions. Finally, he sees that the monarchical principle is out of the question as a helpful political factor so long as Austria remains the ape of Italy. These are wise decisions, provided the army is willing to support them and provided also that international peace can be guaranteed while they are being carried out. The rest of the query is whether Austrian corporatism can in a measure be scrapped without reopening the door to disastrous political turmoil. We cannot answer. But we hold it relatively certain that Schuschnigg wants the return of the Hapsburgs, and that the Hapsburgs cannot rule unless there is a free parliament in the nation. At any rate the act of bouncing Starhemberg is theoretically so commendable that one may pardonably hope it is likewise practical. At present no one can tell for sure.

CURRENT assumptions that national policy is always shaped by "interests" are hardly as correct as a Euclidian proposition. Of course there are political and economic values which the citizenry of each country cherishes and which a bureaucracy guards. Prompt and effective action may be expected when these possessions are threatened. But it would be gravely erroneous to forget that recent years have evoked vocal and sometimes irresistible mass support for ethical ideals, and that groups of real significance are compelling statesmen to reckon with points of view adjudged right or wrong. Thus popular sense of the injustice done to Germany forced the governments of that country to support policies of no practical importance. It would be a mistake to suppose that the British attitude toward Mussolini's action in Ethiopia was all born of imperialism. The Hoare-Laval solution was the proper one as the "interests" viewed the matter, but the public insisted that international law had been violated and that the League existed in order to defend that law. Nor is it merely a lesson on the economic virtue of sitting tight which can be read out of current French desire to keep the peace of Europe. There exists a genuine enthusiasm for peace as a moral value, and for it M. Blum is an eloquent spokesman. In our own country movements such as those headed by Dr. Townsend and Father Coughlin are supported by many who have nothing to gain from either program. If the good Doctor had only such followers as yearned for \$200 a month all would be simple. It is the ethical indignation created by the sight of unfortunate old people, their savings gone, which has really bolstered up Townsendism. Of course these waves of moral feeling are not uniformly good. Under existing conditions it is precisely inability to agree about what is right and what is wrong that makes collective living so precarious and experimental.

WE QUOTE, with a minimum of comment, the following passages from a narrative concerning Puerto Rico written for the *New York Herald Tribune* by Edward Angly: "If they thought they could get away with it the enthusiastic rehabilitators of the PRRA [the Puerto Rico Reconstruction Administration, which has \$40,000,000 to spend on the island and its population] also would like to instruct the fertile families of this overpopulated island in the practise of birth control. To be sure of that desire one has only to talk to the heads of the PRRA, Dr. Ernest H. Gruening, chief of the Division of Territories and Island Possessions of the Department of the Interior, and his right-hand man on the island, Dr. Carlos E. Chardon.

Morals
and
Interests

Where
Is
Austria?

Paradise
in
Puerto Rico

. . . To be more sure of it one has only to talk with the eager young men and women who are their lieutenants in various PRRA activities, at the organization's headquarters, which fill several portable barracks near San Juan's baseball stadium, or to their confrères in the field. These young rehabilitators seem distressed by the fact that with overpopulation one of the three principal causes of Puerto Rico's dire economic illness, the teaching of the art and science of birth control is not yet accepted by society in general as a proper function of a paternalistic government. Even were that not the case they couldn't entirely fulfil their dream of sharply diminishing the Puerto Rican birth rate. . . . They couldn't do it for two reasons quite apparent to everyone. One is that most Puerto Ricans are Roman Catholics. The other is that most of the fecund families huddled in shanties by the seaside and in the mountains haven't the money to provide themselves with the facilities suggested by the rehabilitators." It looks like pretty much of a challenge in more senses than one.

WE HAVE not examined the results of the poll conducted by the American Institute of Public Opinion, as reported in the *New York Herald Tribune*, and in fairness will offer no comment until we do so. But we wish to devote a word to the *World-Telegram's* editorial on the subject, entitled "Facing the Facts." This newspaper is delighted that a majority assent was recorded to the questions, "Shall schools teach the facts about all forms of government, including Communism, Fascism and so forth?" and "Should college teachers be free to express their views on all subjects, including government and religion?" The editorial expresses the strong conviction that this is the line to take, in contrast to the attitude displayed in the "hysterical 'Red hunt' " being conducted by "those professional patrioteers who believe that there can be safety only in ignorance and darkness; that Americans are not strong enough to stand the realities." It is very far from our purpose to defend any sort of "professional patrioteer," assuming that we would agree on examples, or to urge the counsels of ignorance and darkness. But taking the *World-Telegram* at its word, does it actually suppose that the "realities" of the great matters which are now shaking the world will be arrived at merely by taking the lid off of public-school and college teachers?

WE DO not profess to be provided with a ready-made answer to the deeply troubling question, now so acute, of how much liberty of political and religious expression should be allowed in schools. The answer will have to be worked out

patiently, in terms of our democratic system, probably to the accompaniment of mistakes and tragedies. But we do have an answer to anyone who cannot even see the difficulties; who apparently is unaware that teachers are exactly like the human beings one sees everywhere else quarreling fiercely about politics and religion and ready to go to the stake—or to send others there—for their convictions. What impression of political and religious "realities" does the *World-Telegram* suppose that a teacher with strong Nazi or Fascist sympathies, for instance, would give his pupils if he were simply invited to go the limit in "teaching the facts"? And why should college teachers suddenly claim an absolute freedom which they never before have claimed? Surely it is evident that, except with seasoned graduate students, such a grant would be wholly unfair. The teacher-pupil relation is an unequal one at best. Nor is every teacher chivalrous enough not to seek personal power by proselytizing, nor magnanimous enough not to be influenced in giving grades by the docility or hostility of his pupils to his own particular views; alas, not every teacher is even well enough informed on politics and religion to give his opinion any positive value in the elucidation of "realities"—though it may easily have a very positive power to stir up mischief, especially if license has been conferred upon him to do so.

THE REPUBLICAN PARTY in convention this June will make history of a fundamental character which may easily be unobserved in the press of fugitive particularities. It will either emerge as a serious contender for the responsibilities of carrying on the executive functions of our national government, and a substantial part of the legislative functions, or write its own death warrant. The last convention nearly finished the party—ask almost anyone who was there. Not only did the Progressives come away with their purely formal allegiance turned to open rebellion, but also the majority of the conservatives were quietly sickened by it. The trouble was that the men in the smoke-filled room at midnight were intoxicated with their power. They had the machinery running so smoothly that it was not the old-fashioned steam roller anymore, but a modern Christie tank. Mr. Ogden Mills, looking like the millionaire who had swallowed the canary, was one of the worst offenders among those who managed not wisely but too well. This year if a high-handed crowd who know how to pull the wires behind the scenes instead of permitting a free covenant openly arrived at, are less wise than they think they are, it will not take the Democrats to defeat the Republican party so thoroughly that it will never recover; it will die by internal explosion.

WHAT IS THE STATE?

By JAMES H. RYAN

PRAISE of the encyclical, "Quadragesimo Anno," is quite justified; a sound understanding and interpretation of its wise provisions are of much greater moment. Pope Pius himself makes this point more than once in the course of the development of his thought. He even refers to the misunderstandings and criticisms which had followed upon an incorrect reading of the "Rerum Novarum" of his predecessor, Leo XIII, with the caution that the "Quadragesimo Anno" should not merely be read but studied if the doctrines which it preaches are to be assimilated and applied with profit to conditions as they exist in the present-day world.

There is one important subject treated in the "Quadragesimo Anno" which, it seems, has not yet received the full and clear-cut definition it merits, at least as far as the application of the Pontiff's thought to conditions in the United States are concerned. In truth, serious misunderstandings have risen already, much cloudiness of thought has been in evidence, and specific social reforms have been defended as conformable to the mind and spirit of the encyclical which in no absolute and necessary sense flow from a correct exegesis of its language. The reference, in this context, is to the place and rôle of the State in the program of social reconstruction which Pius XI sets up as an ideal to be realized.

The term "State" or its synonyms, public authority, the civil power, occurs in the following pages of the N.C.W.C. edition of "Quadragesimo Anno": pages 6, 9, 10, 17, 18, 20, 26, 27, 29, 30, 33, 34, 35, 42.

It almost goes without saying that the Pope, by the term "State" means the supreme governing power, whatever form that power may take in different nations. Nowhere is the word defined, yet its meaning is clearly that which everyone understands. Moreover, since the encyclical was addressed to the world and is applicable to world conditions, it was manifestly impossible to single out one form of government and designate it as the exclusive type to which the Holy Father wished to refer. "Quadragesimo Anno" is applicable to every type of government—to the monarchy, absolute or limited, to the republic, even to the Fascist state as is patent from the

In the following paper Bishop Ryan advocates a clearer definition of fundamental terms in the encyclical, "Quadragesimo Anno." The "State," he says, is whatever form of government has been freely adopted by people. And sovereignty in the United States "resides principally in the several commonwealths." Therefore the encyclical cannot "be quoted as favoring a federal scheme of social reconstruction without doing violence to its plain statements as they relate to the 'State'."—The Editors.

express references to contemporary Italy.

Men freely adopt the type of government under which they desire to live, the Pontiff tells us. This government as it differs from nation to nation in form must always be taken into full consideration whenever

an application of the encyclical is to be made, a canon of interpretation which is logical and which the Pope expressly sets forth when he notes with approval "that numerous bishops of the Catholic world interpret and comment upon this doctrine, and apply it, according to the mind and instructions of the Holy See, to the special circumstances of the various nations."

In any application of the "Quadragesimo Anno" to the United States the political structure of this nation must be given primary consideration. To adopt any other rule of interpretation would do violence to the language and thought of the Holy Father; it might even bring suspicion and ridicule upon the doctrine advocated, to say nothing of the needless opposition which would be engendered to teachings whose moral and social truth are beyond dispute. The encyclical must not be forced to say what it evidently does not say.

In America the term "State" has its own peculiar connotation. The United States is, first of all, a federation of states. Sovereignty resides principally in the several commonwealths, not in the federal government. The United States is precisely what it is called, a "United States" of America. There exists no supreme individual state; there exist states and each is a sovereign entity.

The original thirteen sovereign states in convention assembled delegated, for sound reasons which the preamble of the Constitution recites, certain functions to a central government, under which they are pleased to exist. To this central government were given well-defined powers which are set down in a written Constitution. The federal government can exercise, and exclusively, these delegated powers. And all powers not delegated expressly are reserved to the several states. The language of the Constitution is beyond all dispute on this head. The federal government is therefore the "State" in only a very limited sense and for very restricted purposes.

There is no need to examine in detail these limited powers of the federal government, nor would

such examination aid in any way the purpose at hand of discovering just in what manner the "Quadragesimo Anno" and its teachings are applicable to our American scheme of government. One may find in the public welfare and commerce clauses of the Constitution practically all the legitimate powers of the central government as they affect immediately and directly the social life of the American people of the present day. The history of these two clauses, according to competent commentators, shows that the federal government by appealing to them has constantly and consistently striven to obtain greater and wider control over the economic and social life of the nation. Whether this so-called usurpation of power has been beneficial or not is primarily a political question which need not detain us here. In recent years, the Supreme Court has defined, more or less clearly, and is in the process of defining every year still more clearly, the economic and social activities of the Washington government as they flow from and must be harmonized with the Constitution. One need but recall the decision of the Supreme Court on the constitutionality of the NRA and the AAA to appreciate the significance of its pronouncements as they affect the contention of those who would solve our social problems by an exclusive recourse to congressional legislation.

The social reformer can appeal to the central government for legislation only within very restricted fields, for the reason that the Constitution limits the functions of the government to certain areas of action. The social problem in the United States is, therefore, primarily a problem for the individual states. Reformers must begin and operate principally in the states if their efforts are to conform both to the letter and spirit of the Constitution as well as to the peculiar type of government which we have in America. Social reform, no matter how sound in theory, which refuses to take into consideration this very fundamental fact of the political structure of the nation, is doomed to ultimate failure. And we contend that such policy of initiating programs of reform in the states rather than at Washington would be in complete harmony with the clear intent of the "Quadragesimo Anno." What is more, "Quadragesimo Anno" cannot with justice be quoted as favoring a federal scheme of social reconstruction without doing violence to its plain statements as they relate to the "State." There is no question here as to whether it is wiser or socially more advantageous to reform on a federal basis or to reform state by state. Many honest and intelligent social reformers are convinced that reform must come first of all from Washington. That, however, is a personal conviction and has no *point-d'appui* in the encyclical, "Quadragesimo Anno." Such methods of reform have their

ground arguments in political or social theory, but not in the views of the Holy Father. And it is both unwise and imprudent to leave the ordinary citizen under the impression that social reform as outlined by the encyclical must be initiated and carried out by the federal government.

The states, or many of them, may be very slow in the task of social reconstruction; some may be unfriendly or even hostile to the most elementary demands of justice and charity. Yet the central fact remains true — the several states are the "State" in the meaning of the encyclical, "Quadragesimo Anno." The term "State," in the language of the Holy Father, and as it is applied to the United States of America, does not mean and cannot rightly be interpreted to mean, the federal government, and it should not be used in that sense. If reformers are dissatisfied, and not wholly without reason, with the slow, cumbersome, and tardy efforts of the states to put their houses in order, they should advocate amendments to the Constitution which will cover the points at issue, and that is what many are doing. In the meantime, they should not be tempted to stretch the meaning of that most important of all modern documents on social reconstruction, the "Quadragesimo Anno," beyond the clear connotation of its language as far as the term "State" is concerned. It will be long before the social ideals of Pius XI are realized. We do not hasten nor aid in that great work by reading into his words a meaning which is not there.

The Cherry-Rain

Good weather, soft weather,
Early summer weather now;
But there's the cherry-rain to come
That breaks the cherries on the bough;

The last rain, the bitter rain,
The rain from a false sky;
Nobody says "Good weather" here
Until cherry-picking's by.

The red-and-white cherries
And the wine-washed black,
Are bubbles on the branches
For the cherry-rain to crack.

Bells will keep the birds away,
But all's in vain
To guard the tender cherries
From the cherry-rain.

Whoever speaks of weather now
Let him speak it small;
There's the last rain, the mocking rain,
The cherry-rain to fall.

MARIE DE L. WELCH.

CATHOLIC ACTION IN CHINA

By JAMES A. MAGNER

IF DRAMATIC attention was called to the Catholic Church in China in 1926, by the consecration of six native Chinese bishops at the hand of Pope Pius XI, international interest has again been stirred by an event of the first magnitude for the Church in the Orient. The first national congress of Catholic Action in China was held at Shanghai last year, September 8-16. More than 20 bishops besides the delegates, some 150 representatives from their respective vicariates or prefectures, and more than 100 priests were present in person or by representation. The first day, opening with solemn pontifical Mass and an address by the Papal Delegate, Archbishop Mario Zanin, was followed by a series of conferences including those of Father Schmidt, S.V.D., and the ninety-six-year-old scholar, Mr. Ma Sian-pa. The Holy Father greeted the congress through the medium of an autograph letter.

The beginnings of contemporary Catholic Action, in its present organized form, date back about twenty years, when Father Lebé held at the city of Tientsin a meeting of prominent Catholic laymen for the purpose of organizing lay action. From 1929 to 1933, the movement came under the direction of Monsignor Celso Constantini, the first Apostolic Delegate to China. It was not until January, 1933, however, that the general statutes of Chinese Catholic Action were canonically approved by the Sacred Propagation of the Faith, thus formally erecting the organization in the country.

These statutes, the fruit of four years' experimentation, were inspired by a message of the Pope, on August 1, 1928, urging the Chinese Catholics to start the movement as an important help both to the Church and the nation. At that time, the Nanking government began to control the whole country and started the work of constructing a New China. The Church, following suit, took steps to organize Catholic Action on similar indigenous lines.

Addressing "the most noble people" of China, Pius XI declared:

The Holy Father, who has followed and continues to follow with lively interest the course of events in China, and who was the first to treat China not only on the basis of perfect equality, but also with an attitude of a true and most particular sympathy, consecrating with his own hands at St. Peter's, in Rome, the first Chinese bishops, heartily rejoiced and rendered thanks to the Most High for the end of the civil wars.

This message, together with the comments of

the *Osservatore Romano* in support of the sovereignty of the new republic, was naturally received with great favor by the Chinese government, and the Minister for Foreign Affairs, Mr. C. T. Wang, replied:

We are heartily grateful to the Sovereign Pontiff for the sympathy he shows to the Chinese Republic, and the desire he has to make use of the strength of religion to stir up the Chinese renaissance and to foster her peace and progress.

Referring to the mission of the Church in this new order, the Pope wrote:

The Sovereign Pontiff recommends to the most reverend bishops as the complement of the work of evangelization, that Catholic Action be instituted and spread. Through this the faithful of both sexes, but especially Our most beloved youths, by prayer, word and work, may promote the peace, social welfare and prosperity of the nation, working to the end that the holy and salutary principles of the Gospel become better known, and offering to the bishops and priests their aid in spreading the Faith and distributing the benefits which arise, both for individuals and for society, from Christian charity.

The primary plan for Catholic Action therefore became the propagation of the Faith, the secondary, its preservation. As a nation of some 485,000,000 population with only 3,000,000 Catholics, China is still a mission country, and will have to proceed along missionary lines for some time to come. With this principle in mind, the organization was formally established by Archbishop Constantini, and placed under the Synodal Commission at Peiping, which appoints one of its members, at present the Reverend Paul Yu-pin, to the position of director general.

The organization as functioning, particularly in North China, embraces five national departments, the association of men, of young men, of women and girls, and the departments for studies and for social action. Besides the director general, the principal officers include a president general, Mr. Lo Pa-hong, of Shanghai, the well-known "St. Vincent de Paul of China," a vice-president general, Mr. Teng, of Peiping, the presidents of the five departments of the National Council, and six councillors for each of the departments. Acting under the direction of the National Council, are the diocesan councils and the parochial associations.

The Council for Young Men proposes special activities and associations for university students besides the organization of scholastic and athletic groups such as the Boy Scouts and other juvenile

bodies. Provision is being made also for young women in universities and for the formation of sodalities and scholastic groups among girls. The purpose of the department for studies is specifically to promote literary, historical, scientific and artistic activities for a better understanding of Catholic truth against the materialistic errors of the day. In the various dioceses, these confraternities depend on the bishop. The national associations of studies are directed by the General Council of Catholic Action in accordance with orders from the Apostolic Delegate. Following a principle enunciated by the First Chinese Council, held in Shanghai, 1924, the aim of the associations for social action is that "Christians, with united efforts, may more advantageously strive for and efficaciously promote their own personal perfection and the greater good of the State."

Definite activities have already distinguished this aim from sheer theory, and a number of outstanding gains have resulted to the Catholic cause. A summer course in Catholic Action was held at Peiping in 1934 for northern Catholics, and in October of the same year another convention was held for central China in Hangkow, with an impressive Eucharistic procession. At both of these sessions, the Apostolic Delegate, Monsignor Zanin, was present personally, with more than 100 representatives from different provinces. The executives of Catholic Action have been represented at some of the important government conventions and have succeeded in promoting the interests of Church property and the observance of Sunday instead of the tenth of the month, as well as other matters of concern to the Church in China.

The establishment of Catholic Action Week, of study clubs, and lecture courses, preaching to persons confined in prison, and hospital visitation are also numbered among activities already inaugurated. In Shanghai alone, six hospitals are visited regularly and members of Catholic Action have baptized over 25,000 patients at the hour of death.

Publications which are identified with the movement include *Catholic Action*, which appears every ten days, the *Rock Magazine* for young men, the *Catholic Woman*, issued every three months, and the *New Northern Star* (*Hsin Pei Chen*) founded last January for pagans. The Lumen News Agency has recently begun a press service under the auspices of the Synodal Commission at Peiping, to gather news of interest to Catholics in the manner of the N.C.W.C. news service, for distribution in Chinese, English and French among the Catholic newspapers and magazines in China. The number of Catholic periodicals in China totals forty-five, in Chinese, Latin, English, French, Spanish, Italian and Portuguese. This includes two daily and four weekly papers, fifteen monthly

periodicals, five bi-weeklies, two bi-monthlies, eight quarterlies, two semi-annuals and two annuals. Each of the dailies has a circulation over 20,000. Catholics control also about twenty-five printing presses, which issue thousands of books every year. The Library and the Kuan Ki Society are attempting to coordinate these enterprises, to establish reading centers, and advance the cultural possibilities of this work. A Catholic Truth Society is being organized by a group of priests and laymen at Hongkong, for the publication and distribution of low-priced pamphlets.

At the same time efforts are being made to build up scholarships for needy students, and to establish a Catholic University for girls. The three principal Catholic centers of higher education, registered with the Chinese government, are the Aurora University, founded in Shanghai in 1903 and conducted by the French Jesuits, the Institute of High Studies, in Tientsin, founded in 1922 and conducted likewise by the French Jesuits, and the Catholic University, known as *Fu Jen*, founded at Peiping in 1925 by the American Benedictines and conducted since 1933 by the Society of the Divine Word with special patronage from the house of the Society at Techny, Illinois. Governmental requirements demand that the presidents of the universities be Chinese; and the universities themselves are subject to government inspection for the retention of their rating. For the most part the students are non-Christian, and university credit cannot be given for the study of Christian doctrine.

The government allots but meager endowment to these institutions, and the financial burden particularly upon the latter is very heavy. Nevertheless, it is generally felt in Catholic circles that the creation of strong Catholic cultural influences is absolutely essential if the Church is to make any impression upon the leaders and the national life and sentiment of China. The Zi-ka-wei observatory, furnishing daily forecasts of weather and atmospheric conditions under the direction of the Jesuits at Shanghai, has been of incalculable value in increasing the prestige of the Church throughout China. The present temper of the Chinese is such that if the Church is to continue in growth and security, it must identify itself with national interests and offer practical services and cultural advantages.

There are about 100 colleges in connection with mission establishments, attended separately by about 8,000 boys and 5,000 girls, while normal schools have a total enrolment of 1,000. Higher primary schools number over 200 for boys with an attendance over 11,000, and about 150 for girls with an attendance of about 7,000. Besides some 3,000 primary schools with a total enrolment of 117,000, there are about 112,000 students in approximately 10,000 catechetical schools.

With the exception of the latter, which are maintained explicitly for the teaching of Christian doctrine, all these schools are open to non-Christians, on a strictly secular basis. As a matter of fact, the Catholic attendance seldom goes over 50 percent of the enrolment and in many cases is as low as 20 percent. Conversion is necessarily slow, due to the strong ties of family allegiance and other causes, so that from a strictly evangelical standpoint the principal fruit accruing to the Church from this enormous outlay of time, talent and money is the gradual improvement of attitude among the Chinese for Catholicism and the development of a friendly spirit, not only for such material and cultural advantages it may present, with little expense to the populace, but also for the message of religion which it offers.

The most effective workers in the field of conversion has been, in many instances, native catechists. There are about 2,000 men and women preparing at present to reinforce the ranks of those already functioning under the direction of mission centers. Conversions for the last few years have been mounting around 80,000 annually, with special success in the smaller communities. One of the most effective methods of increase has been the gathering together of recruits for the Faith, who have been given preliminary instructions by the catechists, and the imparting of final instructions at a mission during the period of a few weeks. During this time, of course, some provision must be made for the shelter and food of those under instruction. Hospices, hospitals, dispensaries and orphanages also account for a large percentage of conversions and increase in Catholic numbers.

That the Chinese government and people should recognize the social and spiritual value of these enterprises is only natural. It is true that the missions have suffered considerably from the attacks of bandits and Communists within the past twenty years, well over 300 Catholic missionaries being captured and more than fifty killed, in addition to the destruction of churches, residences and institutions. At the same time the residue of intellectual Communism engendered in the Chinese youth by their residence at Russian universities and by the official influences of such men as Borodin, during the period in which the government courted a national policy of Communism, the widespread influence of such philosophers as Bertrand Russell, and the materialistic viewpoint confirmed in a large number of Chinese students who have attended western universities, have contributed to make more difficult the progress of Christianity. A rapidly developing nationalism and a sensitiveness among the Chinese youth to anything which might be construed as an implication of Chinese backwardness in the scale of modern progress and culture have also made special demands upon the

resourcefulness of the Church, both in its indigenous and foreign elements. Nevertheless, the Church is meeting these demands. Particularly through the example of Christian charity in troubled times and through the enunciation of the social principles of the Gospel, it has created a remarkably receptive spirit among the Chinese.

In 1932 one of the five Catholic delegates of the Emergency Committee appointed by the government to study economic conditions declared openly: "To rely upon the resources of Confucianism, Buddhism or Taoism, for the relief of China's chaos, is but to lose time. Let us do something more and better. Let us turn to the Ten Commandments of God." The following year, the pagan Mandarin of Lichwan, Hupeh, publicly stated: "There is only one way to restore peace, and that is by leading the people to the Christian religion." Replying to the comments of the Apostolic Delegate upon Dr. Sun Yat-sen's book, "The Triple Demism," the Minister of Education remarked: "We are not Bolsheviks, and we appreciate the help of the social doctrine of the Catholic Church for the reconstruction of China." In a recent statement, China's generalissimo and practical dictator, General Chiang Kai-shek, repeated the same sentiments and made a direct appeal for increased activity among the forces of Christianity. "To succeed in my work," he said, "I must be helped by missions and missionaries; in fact, only Christian teaching can be of effective help in realizing my plan of recovery because it alone contains and can communicate the moral force needed to bring about the desired reformation in the spirit of the people and to put new life into our countrymen."

The total collapse of a state-managed religion with the fall of the monarchy, the wholesale abandonment of temples, and the large decline even of Confucianism as a force in national culture, make imperative the development of a new outlook and religion, if China is to survive the economic chaos and the disruptive political influences within it, to say nothing of foreign plans for expansion which affect its destinies. Catholicism has already demonstrated its ability to fit in with the national temperament of the people and to draw from native elements those talents and resources which are necessary to place Christianity on an indigenous basis. Of a total of 3,900 priests functioning in the country, 1,600 are Chinese. There are about 3,500 Chinese nuns as compared with 1,700 foreign missionary Sisters. Thirteen of the 88 bishops are Chinese. Will the Church be able to give to the Chinese people, as a whole, the moral force and conviction which the nation seeks in the reformation of the Chinese spirit? The answer depends in great part upon the sympathy, encouragement and support of Catholics throughout the world.

A FEW COMMUNISTS

By PETER WHIFFIN

ORDINARILY, of course, as a priest I am not supposed to wear a necktie. But for some months past I have felt justified in substituting a tie for my Roman collar on several occasions when I have been scouting the Communists in their native haunts. It has been great fun, believe me.

My decision to hobnob with Communists was made after I had attended a few of the communistic plays in New York last spring. A couple of them were the work of the new darling among the playwrights, Mr. Clifford Odets, who, I understand, claims to be merely a "liberal." Despite the manifest exaggeration of the propaganda in his "Waiting for Lefty," I was impressed by its story and especially by Mr. Odets himself when he made his stirring little speech about how the revolutionists are going on "even if we get cut up into little pieces." One of our own Catholic writers, by the way, has remarked this intense zeal so often found among the Communists, and "worthy of martyrdom in a better cause." I have heard that Mr. Odets himself not only preaches "liberal" Communism, but practises it.

I attended also another communistic drama entitled "The Black Pit," in which everybody in the cast suffered dreadfully, as they always seem to do in communistic plays, and during which I suffered also, as I had not yet learned to wear a tie and found myself sitting among a number of colored folk who wore immense red badges and glared redly at my Roman collar during intermission. It was on my way out from this play that I was handed a circular which advertised meetings of a little group of communistic intelligentsia in a room near Union Square. And it was then that I made up my mind to attend one of these affairs incognito and thus get a real close-up of the Communists.

On the evening of my visiting with the Reds I confided to one of our young priests, Father Stanislaus, that I intended to wear a tie. I might remark here that I am not a regular parish priest. I belong to a religious order of men who live in monasteries as the monks of old did, and spend their lives in teaching and in preaching missions.

I knew that Father Stanislaus would disapprove of my decision to wear a tie, but I like to shock Stanny. He is too much inclined, I think, to rigorism.

"I don't see how you can form your conscience to think that wearing a tie is justifiable," said Stanny, when I had told him what I was about

to do. "I've never gone anywhere without my Roman collar."

I had to smile at that, because Stanny adores clerical habiliments. He dotes on walking up and down in front of the church on Sunday mornings, wearing a long velvet-collared cape and a biretta with a big plush pom-pom, reading his breviary with great dignity and solemnly acknowledging the pious salutes of the laity. I know he craves to become a bishop, and if he ever gets that far, I'll lay ten to one that he wears his miter at table and never goes out without his crozier.

"Why should you associate with Communists, anyway?" asked Stanny. "Can't they come to us? Our churches are open."

"And what would they get in our churches?" I countered. "A talk from a pulpit that admits of no argument. Ceremonies they cannot possibly understand."

"Why bother about them at all?" said Stanny. "They're not even Christians."

"You talk," I said, "as if everyone who isn't lucky enough to be born of Christian parents and have the priest pour some water over him is looked upon by God as an illegitimate."

"You're blasphemous," yelled Stanny. He rose in majestic indignation and swept grandly to the door.

My next move was to obtain permission from my religious superior to go out for the evening, and at seven o'clock I had started off for downtown New York with \$.70 in my pocket.

I knew just where I was going to buy my tie—in one of those cheaper stores on 14th Street near Third Avenue. I wouldn't for anything go to one of the better shops, not only because I could not afford a good tie, but because I could picture the clerk selling me one with that "understanding" look in his eye. I could imagine him telling the other clerks about it afterward.

I found my store on 14th Street and changed from my Roman collar in a dark spot on 15th. The tie was striped diagonally blue and white, my old college colors. I put my spectacles in a case, set my black hat at an unclerical angle, and sauntered around the corner. It was still too early for the meeting that I was to attend, and I had planned it so, in order to spend an hour with the more plebeian Communists in their famous meeting place in Union Square. As I entered the Square, there were the usual groups of men scattered about, seedy but earnest looking, gathered into little knots of eight or ten, with those on the

outside of each circle standing sidewise so that one ear might be as close as possible to the speaker in the center.

I drifted from one group to another. The common burden of all the discussion seemed to be pretty much the same, and it was summed up for me by a short, fat Jew who was saying slowly and fiercely as he dug his forefinger into the midriff of an unfortunate listener, "We can't do a thing until we own the means of production. I tell you, until we own the means of production, there is not any use even in talking." Nevertheless, as I walked on, he was still talking.

On the West side of the Square I came now upon a young fellow with several large books under one arm, haranguing two men who gazed upon him with rapt attention. He was short and slim, hatless and bespectacled, with a very light and undernourished mustache. He talked without looking at his audience, as if he had just memorized what he was saying. I stopped to listen. Soon I found myself with the other three in the center of a rather large group. The young man talked on and on, occasionally rolling his tongue in his cheek as if savoring a substantial toothsome-ness in his words.

"So long," he said slowly and pedagogically, "as the capitalists own our means of production, so long must we be their wage slaves. They can give us what they want to give us and no more. And if we don't like the pittance we receive in return for making them millionaires, we can starve. We are helpless in their hands."

He looked around the group without seeing any of us and rolled his tongue. Suddenly then I was startled to hear my own voice. I knew it was mine because I could feel the words coming from my mouth, but I couldn't recognize that weak quavering as my own. I felt that everyone in the crowd was looking at me and it gave me a strange thrill, unlike anything I had ever experienced in the pulpit. The young man was looking at me, too, with pale and weary eyes.

"And suppose," I said, "you were to throw off all your present business leaders. Who would replace them?"

"Replacements," he smiled, "would come from the proletariat. Maybe you would be one of them."

"Then," I blurted, "God help business!" Someone behind me laughed and I felt much better.

For a while, then, the young Communist and I argued with the dreary futility common to such arguments. I tried to get him to admit that by the very nature of things some men are more fitted than others to be leaders in business as in anything else. I tried to prove that the great majority of us have neither the ambition nor the ability to shoulder great responsibilities. I opined that the evils of our economic and financial set-up

could be cured or at least mitigated without recourse to a revolution that must deliver us finally into the hands of political dictators where our last state would be much worse than the first. I reminded him that even Emma Goldman has recently confessed that Communism in Russia has developed into the worst form of political despotism and state capitalism.

Of course we got nowhere at all, and it was with deep relief that I finally heard another voice break in to take the argument away from me. As the attention of the crowd was drawn to this new debater, I started to make my way out of the press that formed again behind me as I pushed through. On the fringe of the circle a man who needed a shave clapped me on the shoulder.

"Don't let them capitalists fool you, buddy," he said.

I promised that I wouldn't.

I walked out of the Square now and turned up Broadway toward the meeting room of the communistic intelligentsia society. Then suddenly the thought struck me that for a few minutes I had forgotten all about my being a priest. I wondered what those men would say, if they knew. I smiled happily. I had certainly put one over on them. How often I had heard, too, that people have such an uncanny faculty of recognizing priests in any sort of disguise. Well, that theory had been exploded.

At the corner of 18th Street an Irishman plainly "under the influence" stood unsteadily, watching my approach with that gravity peculiar to the inebriated. I was glad that I did not have my Roman collar. Irishmen "under the influence" will usually insist on talking loudly to priests in public, particularly about their relatives who happen to be priests or nuns. I started to cross the street without looking at him. Suddenly I felt his hand on my arm.

"Father," he said, "can you give me the price of a night's lodgin'?" . . .

When I reached the building where the Literary Forum was scheduled to meet, it was past nine o'clock. I asked the elevator man, an Irishman, where the young Communists were meeting. He gave me a long and searching look, then without a word took me up in the elevator and let me out at the twelfth floor. A young Jewish girl was sitting at a little table in the corridor. She looked at me and I went over to her.

"Literary Forum?" I said.

"That's right," she cooed.

"How much?" I asked.

"Twenty cents, please. You can go right in. The meeting has begun."

I paid my fee and went into a large room. There were about twenty people sitting on wooden

folding chairs facing a man who stood behind a table, talking. He was a bald, spectacled, middle-aged fellow, who spoke a hesitant and rather broken English with a deep, German guttural. I sat down in the rear of the listening group and looked about. I was surprised to see that most of the group were not Jewish and that only a few were not young. About twelve were women. I learned later that dancing followed the talk. The lecture was supposed to be on the philosophy of Jung, but suddenly I sat up and looked sharply at the speaker. He had just said calmly and quietly, "And so all religion is a myth. It is the invention of priests who use it as a racket." "Oho," I said to myself, "so that's it."

For an hour then the speaker droned along, reading his notes in a halting, dreary monotone. He told us that religion was a fairy tale, that there was no God outside the imagination of men. He compared the story of Christ to the legend of Siegfried, as if both had an equal historical value. He talked slightly of the "Woigin" Mary, of the "crucifixion," and of "Golgo'tha." The talk was such a travesty not merely of good scholarship but of good taste that I grew more and more restless. One young Jewish lad with a pimply face, thick spectacles and red hair was writing copious notes, but the girls seemed more interested in looking about at the young fellows with whom they hoped to dance later. And as the droning of the lecture went on and on, all I could think of were the armies of scholars and heroes and saints among pagans and Jews and Christians who in all ages have tried to lift man from a mere brute existence to a spiritual life through religious belief. And I marveled at the calm effrontery of this quack who could so glibly dismiss all religion as a racket and a myth.

Of course I rose when he had finished and asked if I might say a few words. The manager of the affair, a fat, spectacled, effeminate-looking fellow, said that I might, though he appeared rather nervous about it. And forthwith I engaged the lecturer in an argument that proved just as futile as the discussion in Union Square.

I argued that since the vast and intricate mechanism of the entire universe from cell to planet shows unmistakable evidence of intelligent plan and design, we must posit an Intelligent Being back of it all or commit intellectual suicide.

"Well," said a young man in front of me, "if some Intelligent Being made the world, *who made Him?*"

Now, that was a very tough question. In fact, it's one of the most difficult questions in philosophy, because it's one of the most fundamental. That's the way with philosophy. It deals with what it calls "simple" things like first causes, and being and existence, and in a little while, if one doesn't take care, one is liable to become simple,

too. In the days of old, when philosophy was the "hot" subject, as social justice is today, when Abelard and Thomas of Aquin and Duns Scotus took the places of Johnson and Coughlin in a European hook-up, there were terrific arguments that divided all Christendom, such as whether the human embryo in its first stages of existence had a human soul or the soul of a vegetable, and whether 10,000 or 10,000,000 angels could rest their angelic posteriors on the point of a needle. So, you see—

And how could I explain to this young fellow the old Aristotelian argument that there must be a First Cause which is not caused by anything else, or else we'd have an endless chain and wind up nowhere at all, or, as one of my friends puts it, away out in left field? What did he know of philosophical terminology or argument?

Fortunately the effeminate-looking manager rapped for order at this point and suggested that as there was only a brief time left for dancing, he would end the meeting by reading some poetry. When I entered the elevator I could hear him still reading. His voice seemed more relieved. The elevator man looked at me as we went down.

"You look warm," he said.

"I am."

"Take it easy," he smiled, "and you'll last longer."

"You're a philosopher," I said.

"No. Just an Irishman."

We parted friends. I think, if he had had a couple of drinks, he would have called me "Father" in spite of my tie, and talked about relatives of his who were priests and nuns. . . .

Well, it's quite a while since I wore my tie. I have it now in the bottom of my trunk, because I'm going to have some more nights with the Communists. I'm afraid I won't be welcome back at the Forum, but Union Square is still open. And, strange as it may seem, I think that the Communists and I have much in common. I am quite as much opposed to the abuses of capitalism as any Communist. I am quite as much opposed to the abuses in organized religion as any Communist, and I believe I am more cognizant with these evils than any Communist could be. But I question whether we can cure our economic ills by cutting off the heads of our business leaders. I would much prefer to use them and make them behave. And I deny that because some clerics have prostituted religion that we must throw off religion itself. At any rate, I'd like to talk these things over again with the Communists. In fact, I'd like to be speaking in Union Square some day and wearing my Roman collar, too. After all, Christ spoke on the highways and byways. Have we priests more dignity than Christ? Or have we less guts than the Communists?

INSIDE THE PRIMARIES

By CHARLES WILLIS THOMPSON

AS I WRITE this the primaries are not yet completed, but their general bearing on the campaign is. All the interest centers in the Republican primaries, whether you are a Republican, a Democrat or an independent. This is because the Democratic primaries are a mere compliance with the legal forms, whereas in the Republican ones there is a strife. The primaries are the selections of the delegates who, after the convention meets on June 9—probably by June 12—will nominate the Republican candidate who will contend with President Roosevelt. The nature of the strife is clearly indicated now.

There are two main conflicting opinions in the Republican party, compared with which all the other conflicting opinions—such, to illustrate, as the conflict between Borah's progressives and Hoover's harkers-back, which is the most advertised—are relatively not of importance. The two I am dealing with relate entirely to the present and future of the party. One element is called the "defeatist" element, though, as I shall immediately show, that nickname is not correct. The other is that which believes Roosevelt either is slipping or has slipped and can be defeated; in some optimistic cases, that he is defeated already.

The difference, which may at first seem only one of opinion, is immensely important, for it is not only one of opinion but one of policy. The future not only of this campaign but of the ensuing years, and not only in the Republican party but in the nation and in history, will be slanted one way or the other by the decision. Whichever opinion a leader may hold, the first decision will be made at the convention, and that may be so conclusive as to make abortive any of the attempts to reverse it in the next four years. It must be kept in mind that I am writing not about what the man in the street thinks or intends, but what the leaders do. To make my meaning clear, ex-President Hoover, Senator Borah, Senator Vandenberg, ex-Ambassador Edge, Governor Landon and in short all the leaders belong to one group or the other.

It is what the fight in the primaries is about, when you strip it of externals and get down to cases. Clarifying this in turn, if the Republicans are sure to be defeated this year, one kind of program and one kind of candidate are indicated as a matter of course. If they have a good chance, another kind is. The fight, therefore, is over what manner of thinking shall control the party and shape its destiny and that of the rival party and the nation, so far as one party can affect them, both now and at least until 1940 if no longer.

The so-called defeatist element is extremely influential in shaping the course, and both progressives and conservatives belong to it, so it is not a matter of sociological difference. There is a difference between the acts and intentions of the various wings of the defeatist element, but in one thing they strive for the same result, and it is this: Granting defeat in 1936, one kind of opinion or another will shape what comes next, and the strife is to make one or the other dominant in the organization and in nominations in future years.

"Defeatism" is an inexact word in this case. The so-called defeatists merely believe that the Roosevelt tide has ebbed and is running out, but not fast enough to prevent his reelection. They feel certain of victory in the general election of 1938. According to all history since the Civil War, that means certain victory in 1940; there has never been an exception to that rule. The plans of the defeatists, therefore, are not for defeat but for victory, which they consider as sure as the coming of sunrise; and this whether they are progressives like Senator Borah or conservatives like the nominal New York leader, National Committeeman Hilles, or those who do not wear either one stamp or the other.

Victory granted (in 1938 and therefore, most surely, in 1940), what kind of thinking shall be in control of the organization and shall nominate the candidate and write the platform then? That's what the fight is about. If the Roosevelt tide has not yet run clear out, though evidently ebbing fast, and is still far enough inshore to make certain his reelection, the Republicans might as well nominate anybody, and one candidate is as good as another to keep the record straight. It would appear that way to the inexperienced, but politics is not so simple. A don't-care decision on June 12 or 13 may have a terrific back-fire in 1940.

The misnamed defeatist element is a considerable factor in Governor Landon's snowball-rolling progress toward the nomination. In preparing for victory in 1938 and 1940, it is necessary to avoid another Roosevelt landslide in 1936, for the psychological effect, always a most important and practical element in strategy. To avoid such a landslide it is needful to carry as much of the Middle West as possible and a good deal of the East. That would pile up an electoral vote respectable enough in size to show the voter who is influenced by such considerations that the Republicans are gaining and that a vote for them in 1938 and 1940 will not be wasted.

Landon is not only a Midwesterner, but a gov-

ernor who has twice weathered the Roosevelt landslides in his own state. This and the fact that his state is almost wholly agricultural were thought to indicate his agricultural and Mid-western strength was not limited, though the Nebraska primary and especially the South Dakota one made that assumption far from certain. No Landon advocate pretends that he is a great man or even a leader, but that does not matter with the defeatists; he could be nominated in 1936, carry enough states to show that Roosevelt landslides are over, and so leave the party in good shape for 1940 and another candidate. This calculation would be good political reasoning except for one consideration, which I shall give later. At this moment it is enough; it explains why such states as New Jersey and Massachusetts are counted in the Landon column. Massachusetts, incidentally, is not all of New England, and Maine and New Hampshire are for Knox on the first ballot. That does not mean much after that ballot, for the Illinois primary put Knox out of business as a possible nominee.

Of the element which does not believe in defeatism, Hoover is the most notable figure. He thinks victory is coming in 1936, and his struggle is to enforce his type of thinking on the party not for the future but now. The California primary made sure what had been far from certain, that he will be a real influence in the convention. Whether all the non-defeatists will work with him at Cleveland is not indicated, but it is not necessary that they should.

Now for the consideration which alone stands in the way of making Landon a stalking-horse for 1936, to be discarded later. Landon, by the way, is himself a non-defeatist, as much as Hoover, though otherwise as far from agreeing with Hoover as Borah is. In the calculations of the defeatists, they plan to nominate in 1940 a man who really is a leader and does stand for something. But here the possibility of a big vote for the 1936 candidate comes in to endanger such an outcome and therefore endanger the election of 1940, too.

If the 1936 nominee polls a big vote, he can't be discarded so easily in 1940. He will have the prestige of his big 1936 vote, and prestige is not a sentimental but a practical factor. As the defeated standard-bearer of 1936, but not very badly defeated, he would seem to many to be the logical candidate in 1940. This would very likely be a stumbling-block in the way of nominating a man stronger with the voters, and might easily wreck all the defeatist calculations.

Senator Vandenberg of Michigan, a far abler man than Landon and incomparably abler than any other 1936 candidate except Borah—who cannot possibly be nominated either this year or in 1940—does not want the 1936 nomination, but

does want that of 1940. It is only reasonable to put him among the so-called defeatists who, to repeat, are not defeatists but believers in victory as a certainty after the fast-ebbing Roosevelt tide has run out, which is calculated as within a year from next November. Vandenberg discouraged all attempts to boom him for 1936. He is a man of decided convictions, seldom acting but always coming down like a pile-driver when he does act; and leaders so utterly dissimilar in all other respects as Hoover and Borah look on him with favor. Yet, until lately, his course was shaped so as to avoid, if possible, any votes for him—in 1936.

Recently he so far changed his course as to come forward as the "favorite son" candidate of Michigan. He did not change it so far as to seek any votes from any other state. Recalling that what he wants is the 1940 nomination, the meaning of this is plain. Supposing Landon to be nominated now and defeated, the Michigan vote for Vandenberg deprives Landon of his position in 1940 as the only Republican in sight. Vandenberg remains as the sole candidate who was voted for in 1936 and not in any discouraging way; for the votes cast for Knox and Borah at Cleveland will be not only discouraging but a final knockout for them. In both cases the votes for them will show that they can never be nominated. No such painful showing will be made by Michigan's vote for Vandenberg; he will remain as the man who made no fight, was voted for, and got no more votes than he did for the sole reason that he did not want them. He alone will be left in a position to do battle with the less able man who was not elected in 1936 but who has the claim of having put an end to the Roosevelt landslides. Meanwhile, he has four years in which the pile-driver of the Senate can appear in his infrequent but always impressive pile-drivings.

This may be burst wide open by a failure to put Landon over at Cleveland. In that case, as the primaries have shaped so far, Vandenberg will be the nominee whether he likes it or not. Knox and Borah being already out of it, no other outcome is possible except a last-minute conclave and agreement on Steiwer of Oregon. But that would be so much a "2 a. m. smoke-filled room" solution as to be of 1920 vintage, not 1936, and would be equivalent to handing the election over to Roosevelt as early as June. Borah is strenuously anti-Landon; his power at Cleveland was long ago conceded, but what is more to the point is the hash he is making in the primaries of Landon's supposed strength among the farmers. He began by taking the whole farming part of Knox's own state, Illinois, away from him, and then sailed into Landon among the farmers of Nebraska and South Dakota, with devastating results. Nebraska is next door to Landon's own state, and the farmers in both are as alike as peas in a pod.

SAN TOMASO

By CAROLA WEST

IN ROME, there are many small silent churches, standing by themselves in quiet places; they are almost always shut and passed by without notice. The guide-books do not mention them, so one wonders what they are, and they seem just a little bit mysterious. There is no mystery, only an interesting story closed up behind their old doors. They generally belong to a confraternity and are open only on their own special *feste*.

Such is the Church of San Tomaso a Monte Cenci, tucked away between the Tiber, the Jewish Synagog and the old Ghetto, now almost disappeared. It stands on a slight slope indulgently called *Monte*, and certainly it is not much of a mountain; but, in Rome, in some way the valleys become filled and the hills almost flat under the tread of centuries. Looking up to the façade of this little old church, one reads the inscription, *Divo Thomae Apostolo*; it sounds like a term of affection, of intimate acquaintanceship. In Rome one feels like that with the saints, one knows them well—it is their own city, the city of their souls, with memories of them everywhere.

San Tomaso belongs to the Confraternity of Coachmen, *Venerabilis Confraternitatis Aurigarum Urbis*; *urbis* being city, in this case the Eternal City; but, alas for the coachmen! they are not eternal. Although this spot is the stronghold of resentment against the ever-encroaching automobile, all is unavailing. The confraternity is getting ever more venerable and its members sadly reduced. It is still one of the joys of Rome to hire one of these carriages and be driven leisurely about by one of these pious *confratelli*; only, generally, one never knows anything about their interesting confraternity, and at times one might doubt that they had such pious inclinations. In the days of their glory they used to be more than five hundred, now they are fast disappearing, with all the young ones, seized with the urge of New Italy to be modern, becoming chauffeurs. Horses, drivers, carriages, the whole turnout are getting old, but the memories of past glory are dearly cherished. San Tomaso still belongs to them and they tell you proudly that, in its beautiful carved marble font under the altar, the ill-fated Beatrice was baptized and many of her family.

The church dates back to 1114, having been built by Pietro Cenci, an archpriest, next to the Cenci palace, now a dilapidated forlorn edifice. Their original church, centuries old, was Santa Maria in Cacaberis, torn down in 1888 to make the Largo Arenula. Its memory still lingers in the Via dei Calderari. It was then that the confraternity took possession of San Tomaso and moved all their precious belongings there. Among them was a large, carved wooden crucifix carried solemnly in processions, and before which the Brethren, *i Frati*, make their profession and promises. "Obedience and Silence" their motto, desirable qualities for a coachman! They brought too a large banner, *Gonfalone*, their emblem, a horse's head between two crossed whips, embroidered on it. On the standard are their Holy Protectors: Our Lady;

Saint Anthony the Abbot, a protector of animals; Saint Richard, a cart driver.

At the meetings and processions, the *Frati* wear each a blue linen sack and badge, and, gathered together in their church, devoutly recite the Office, quite like religious, out of full-sized breviaries, bound in vellum with the big old print, and well worn by pious, callous fingers. The Latin does not faze them, it has a familiar sound to their Italian ears. On feast days—their own feasts: Saint Lucy, Saint Anthony Abbot, Saint Richard, Candlemas Day—the Office of Our Lady is said; in November and for the death of each member they courageously attack the Office for the Dead and say it right through. Can one imagine the taxi-drivers of our big American cities meeting, when one of them dies, and all reciting the complete *Officium Defunctorum* for the departed one! It is the heritage of centuries of faith that produces such results; for, in the early centuries of the church, the lay-folk said the Office almost as a matter of course; it is, now and always, the prayer of the Church.

An inquiring, practical mind might ask how this confraternity meets its expenses, such small items as candles and incense for the altar, and larger ones: burial fees, and even an insurance for its old or infirm members. Their jealously guarded privilege is the monopoly of the sale of the dead horses of Rome. Poor faithful horses, who, after a lifetime of good service and hard work, still serve their masters when they are dead. So we see that social insurance is not so new; we find it here, centuries old, organized by the Church, the old infirm members being entitled to a little pension, *una pensioncina*, of 4 lire a day, sufficient for their frugal needs.

All this was related by an old *confratello*, a member for fifty-two years, devoted to his confraternity and church, hale, hearty and happy on his 4 lire a day.

After leaving the church and going up a slight slope around its corner, one finds the famous restaurant, Piperno a Monte Cenci. In fair weather, specially toward spring, inviting tables are laid out under green vines; there, the famous *Carcioffi alla Giudecca* are prepared, big, green artichokes from the Roman Campagna, fried to a crisp, golden brown in deep olive oil, to be eaten with red wine and always remembered. For San Tomaso stands right next to the old Ghetto, where the Jews have always liked artichokes cooked in that way. The Jewish Synagog is one step away, looking so modern one has to know that it stands on the site of the old one, which was built before Christ after the model of the temple of Solomon, a treasure house of marble, gold and mosaics. Titus destroyed it after the fall of Jerusalem.

Thus the centuries have passed through these places, leaving the mark of their mighty hand on the silent, yellow-tinted stones; countless human beings have lived out their short lives under the old, weed-grown roofs. The only thing that has remained through it all is the Church, emerging always young and ever untouched, the glorious Mother of Souls, who will always be there to guide, help and comfort them, even to eternal life. That is what makes Rome unique, that is what makes it infinitely dear to us, for we feel it to be the city of our souls.

Seven Days' Survey

The Church.—The forty-fifth anniversary of Leo XIII's encyclical, "Rerum Novarum," and the fifth anniversary of Pius XI's "Quadragesimo Anno" were commemorated by three national broadcasts. Appropriate observances are also reported from New York, Milwaukee, Toledo and Hartford. The National Catholic Welfare Conference has just issued two pamphlets, "Catholic Work in the United States for Social Justice," by Reverend R. A. McGowan, and "The Encyclicals and Agriculture," by Reverend Edgar Schmiedeler, O.S.B. * * * The Most Reverend John M. McNamara, Auxiliary Bishop of Baltimore, was celebrant of a solemn pontifical field Mass at Leonardtown, Maryland, May 17, sponsored by the Catholic Students' Mission Crusade, in commemoration of the Mass of Thanksgiving for their safe arrival offered by the first Maryland colonists three centuries ago. * * * At the Prague Benedictine Monastery a "Liturgical Week" of lectures on the "Beauties of the Liturgy" was held recently. A special feature was an exhibit of liturgical paintings and prints and of liturgical literature in the Czech, Polish, German, French and Italian languages. * * * Summer sessions for 35,000 students will be conducted by 125 of the nation's Catholic colleges, universities and normal schools this year with special emphasis on economics and social studies. At the Catholic Summer School at Santander, Spain, courses for foreigners will be conducted by noted professors from Italy, France, Germany, Holland and Belgium. The Catholic University of Peiping will offer special summer courses in Natural Science and Chinese Literature for Chinese priests teaching in the seminaries. * * * Bishop Thomas J. Toolen of Mobile delivered the baccalaureate sermon at Tuskegee Institute, May 24. * * * A symposium on the Sociology of Art under the patronage of Patrick Cardinal Hayes and Paul Claudel and sponsored by the Catholic Poetry Society of America was held at the College of Mount St. Vincent, May 17. * * * A demonstration of Liturgical Music will be broadcast, May 30, from 10 to 10:30 a. m, Eastern Standard Time, over Station WABC and affiliated stations of the nation-wide Columbia broadcasting network. * * * The Very Reverend Andrew A. Walls, S.M., has been appointed president of St. Mary's Manor, South Langhorne, Pennsylvania.

The Nation.—Congress was expected to pick its own adjournment date, without administrative pressure, and June 6 was mentioned as a likely day. The President said that although there were ten or fifteen measures it was desirable should be passed, he considered only the deficiency bill, carrying appropriations for relief, and the revenue bill, embodying taxes to make up for AAA levies and extra money for the bonus, as on the "must" list. * * * Senator Harrison began the final rationalizing labors of the Finance Committee on taxes in preparation for submission of the bill to the full Senate. He indi-

cated that the majority report would contain some levies against undivided profits, or that he would turn in a minority report and fight for it on the floor. * * * The Socialist party prepared for its convention, scheduled to take place the first week of June in Cleveland. There the New York "Right wing" group that broke with Thomas's "Left wing" and the national party administration will make its final stand. The Communist party planned to propose a joint presidential candidate at the convention, and both the Right and the Left wings prepared to reject the proposal. * * * The Treasury agreed with agents of the Chinese government to buy regularly with gold substantial quantities of Chinese silver. This gold will be held in New York as a stabilization fund to protect Chinese currency. This, like the recent French treaty and the new Finnish agreement, is supposed to promote international trade and peace. * * * The whole administration is attacking with vigor the conception of autarchy or isolation. Henry F. Grady of the State Department, at a New York luncheon, stated the opinion that attempts at national economic independence and state controlled or monopolized foreign trade lead to a crippling type of state socialism. * * * A Pan-American parley is planned for some time during this year. Representatives of Argentina, Mexico and Guatemala have proposed an agenda covering questions of peace, neutrality, disarmament, and juridical, economic and cultural problems with the idea that something like an American League of Nations might develop.

The Wide World.—Ratifying the annexation of Ethiopia unanimously, members of the Italian Senate heard Guglielmo Marconi declare that no interference with this achievement would be tolerated. He insisted that Italy would seek no further conquest. The London *Times* correspondent cabled a horrible tale from Jibuti, indicating that many natives had been executed in Addis Ababa for the possession of arms and sometimes for the sake of vengeance. A number of newspapermen were sent out of the country. It was announced that the Italians planned to rule the new empire with the help of small garrisons stationed among totally disarmed natives. * * * A good deal of strife was reported from Palestine, where three Jews were slain in Jerusalem on May 16 by an unknown Arab assassin. Trouble was also reported from Jaffa and Safed. The British clamped down a curfew law on the Holy City, and staged parades of infantry armed with tanks. Spokesmen for the Jews criticized the vacillating policy of the government. * * * Austria was tense after Chancellor Kurt Schuschnigg had ousted Prince Starhemberg from the Cabinet and had ordered the dissolution of the Heimwehr. Josef Reither, strong peasant leader, was known to have been a party to these moves. The Prince did not take the news lying down. He announced that the nation would hear from him again, asserted that Aus-

tria was on the brink of civil war, and rushed off to confer with Mussolini. Apparently little sympathy or support was offered by Il Duce, and Starhemberg was hesitant. Dr. Schuschnigg assured Italy of his government's friendly intentions. * * * President Luis Sorzano was ousted from the presidential office in Bolivia when a general strike got the support of soldiers back from fighting in the Gran Chaco. German Busch, a fighting officer, was named "provisional president" until such time as a regular government could be elected by the people. There was neither fighting nor bloodshed, but the movement itself appeared to be a regular Latin American revolution. * * * Puerto Ricans were manifestly alarmed as Senator Tydings's offer to present them with complete independence began to be taken seriously in financial and industrial circles. Their leaders insisted, however, that the really deplorable thing was the unwillingness of the United States government to concede that the island ought to be a full-fledged state. * * * In France it was emphasized anew that M. Blum has persistently been everything but anticlerical. Since he has frequently expressed his respect for the Catholic Church, passages from his writings were being circulated to prove that the Left is more genuinely sympathetic to religion than the Right. * * * A new government, dominated by army officers, was formed in Poland. It was severely criticized in a large section of the press, but the economic crisis is so acute that few constructive counter-suggestions were offered.

* * * *

Planned Expenditure Checked.—The wing of the administration which supports the blend of relief and rehabilitation expenditures suffered several disappointments recently. The Omnibus Flood Control bill met opposition in the Senate, and the Overton bill, which the Senate designed to implement control of the lower Mississippi Valley waters, got nowhere in the House. Amendments attached to the \$320,000,000 Omnibus bill would create a five-man, bi-partizan board as the executive, and this board would function something as the National Resources Board does now. The federal government would pay only the cost of actual construction work; states and local units would have to furnish land and pay damages arising from the projects. Secretary Ickes appeared before Senate committees trying to work out a method for financing PWA projects which have been planned but not provided for. He asked for an increase in the \$250,000,000 PWA revolving fund and for more elastic regulations governing its use. He is also contemplating the sale of securities owned by PWA, which would realize another \$150,000,000. On the same day that the Supreme Court ruled against the Guffey Act, the United States Court of Appeals for the District of Columbia handed down a decision that condemned in rather round terms the Resettlement Administration. Last December, after exhaustive preliminary research, the RA commenced actual work on "greenbelt" rural-industrial communities outside Cincinnati, Milwaukee, Washington, D. C., and New York. The last, in Bound Brook, New Jersey, was immediately affected by the decision. "What the Resettlement Ad-

ministration is trying to do is to put houses and land and people together in such a way that the props under our economic and social structure will be permanently strengthened."

Bids from Europe.—Several European statesmen were seen angling for a greater measure of cooperation from the United States. But it would be incorrect, many felt, to look upon Léon Blum's allusions to the war debt problem as mere diplomatic maneuvers. "French public opinion has doubtless not appreciated the fact that this unilateral denunciation of a contract wounds, in your country, something besides the sense of commercial probity and that it touches a genuinely moral sentiment. We feel now that, no more than an individual, must a nation give a false appearance of ingratitude. I wish with all my heart that this misunderstanding may quickly disappear," M. Blum told the American Club of Paris. He did not promise to start paying on the dotted line. Indeed, he remarked that the confusion had been caused by the general feeling among Frenchmen that the debt to the United States was paid off as reparations moneys arrived from Germany. In essence he promised that the war debt question would get renewed consideration if a world stabilization effort succeeded well enough to get Europe out of its present financial crisis. Addressing 8,000 conservative ladies in London, Prime Minister Stanley Baldwin asserted that the League of Nations must of necessity remain weak while three powers as influential as the United States, Germany and Japan are outside. "Probably at the autumn meetings of the League, the members of the League will have to consider, among many other things, what, if any, changes are necessary in the League. I hope that any changes which may be found helpful in inducing those nations which are outside the League to come into it, that can be seen to be feasible, will be considered with all sincerity and with every desire to make the League at last what it was hoped to be at the beginning." Mr. Baldwin suggested one possible alteration when he insisted that Article XVI of the Covenant was "experimental." In the United States there was no crush at the doors with suggestions about desired alterations.

Non - Catholic Religious Activities.—The one-hundredth anniversary of Union Theological Seminary, one of the most prominent of the nation's 150 Protestant seminaries, was celebrated May 16-19. Of 3,000 living alumni 6 are bishops of the Episcopal Church, 14 are college presidents and 40 professors in other seminaries. The student body today numbers 320. The institution's library of 200,000 volumes and 90,000 pamphlets is open to the public. * * * Shabuoth, the Jewish Feast of Pentecost or Feast of Weeks, seven weeks after the second day of Passover, was celebrated by Orthodox Jews, May 26 to 28, and by Reformed Jews, May 26 and 27. Shabuoth is also the feast that commemorates the giving of the Ten Commandments to Moses on Mount Sinai. * * * The annual conventions of Northern and Southern Baptists met in joint session at St. Louis, May 18 and 19. At the opening meeting Dr. Frederick L. Anderson, professor

emeritus of the Newton Andover Theological Seminary, declared that in the conflict between Church and State Christians must obey the will of God even at the cost of imprisonment or death. * * * The Committee on Moral and Religious Training organized in Washington, D. C., several months ago, on May 14 launched a nation-wide campaign to provide religious education in public schools. Classes would be held in the school building itself and teachers from each of the churches and synagogues of the community would come every school day.

Candidate Landon.—Addressing the graduating class of the high school at Attica, Kansas, Governor Landon, leading contender for the Republican nomination for Presidency, expressed his philosophy of citizenship, scorning "prophets of despair" and declaring, "We have no place in America today for quitters." From the depression, he said, a new and finer America would emerge, if minds could be kept open to the needs for a change in government based on "a wider distribution of the blessings of civilization." "One of your duties as educated citizens will be," he declared, "to keep your minds open to the possible needs for change in government, to meet our rapidly changing life. You will meet the urgings of some who would solve our difficulties by changing everything, of others whose veneration for the past causes them to be shocked at the thought of changing anything. Change is only dangerous when people do not really understand what it is they are trying to change." Referring to one pessimist who has said "there are millions of Americans now alive who will never again be self-supporting," the Governor thundered: "Such a doctrine might have a grain of truth in it if we were living in an old country whose resources have been exhausted, but in a young and rich country such as ours, your own horse-sense will tell you that such a doctrine is sheer nonsense. We want no lost generation in America. The first victory for you to win, the victory for all of us to win, is to get back our belief in our future and in the future of America."

Art First.—The First National Exhibition of American Art opened in the international building of the Rockefeller Center with the largest square footage of easel painting ever gathered together representative of contemporary artistic creativeness in the United States. There are 713 items and the show covers 10,000 square feet. The Municipal Art Committee of the City of New York sponsored it, under the direction of Mrs. Henry Breckinridge, ably assisted by Mr. Marchell Landgren. Overpowering is the best single descriptive adjective for the general impression at first created by such size. The hanging committee, however, has striven effectively to isolate sections of the show and they have succeeded very well in avoiding an overcrowded appearance at any one point. None of the art is "skied" nor, worse, "ankled." Everybody, with possibly a few exceptions, who might be classed as subjects of local pride or personal taste, is represented with one canvas, or sculpture. This singleness itself has a curious result, because no broad conception of any one person's work may be arrived at by seeing just the single

thing. Still the show is remarkable for what it is, and that cannot be all things to all persons. The total effect is that there is a growing type of art which is American with a recognizable and wholly natural character of its own. It has a hardness, a matter-of-factness which springs not only from our temperamental background, but also, as Mr. Chesterton pointed out some years ago, from the light which is peculiar to the United States and northern Africa, a very hard light with none of those opalescent qualities or nuances that are familiar to western Europeans. Much of the show is of indifferent quality, which is bound to be the case when so much is gathered together, whether it be in Paris or Leningrad. On the whole, however, it is an intensely interesting event which will become a notable annual addition to the artistic life of the country.

Hurrah for Our Side.—That emotions frequently run high when nationalistic causes are at stake is a truism, nor must passionate outbursts of feeling be taken too seriously. But the historian of American life is interested in the persistence of Old World racial and social ties; and to him the following bit is respectfully offered. It is part of an editorial which appeared in *Il Crociato*, of Brooklyn, on May 9. The author is Vincent O. Genova; the paper says that it is "sponsored by the Italian Catholic clergy." We quote: "I suppose, now that the Italian victory is *un fait accompli*, that we will be listening to the thread-worn explanation of the startling success. I am willing to bet my hat that few will hit the point. We will hear a great deal about the good weather that accompanied the army, the disorganization of the Ethiopians, their lack of up-to-date military equipment and the ineffectiveness of the League. The main reason will be left out because it is alien to our democratic mentality . . . namely, that in Italy there is one directive mind, one head to the body. Government in Italy follows nature's and the God of Nature. It follows the plan of the organization of the Body of Christ, also one head to one Body. Where nature's plan is followed there is unity of purpose, singleness of decision and coordination of effort. It is really the simplest and most effective way of doing things. Democracy—we are beginning to find out—is many heads to one body. It is really a Protestant conception of organization and it does not work in government any more than it has worked in religion." Under ordinary circumstances (i. e., were not emotion so eminently natural) Brooklyn generally might have suggested that only five days separate Mr. Genova from perfect comfort.

Archbishop Diaz.—The Most Reverend Pascual Diaz y Barreto, thirty-ninth Archbishop of Mexico City, who died in Mexico City, May 19, was born of humble Mexican parents in a suburb of Guadalajara, Jalisco, sixty years ago next month. At the local school conducted by the Franciscan Fathers he learned to be proficient at the organ. He entered the Seminary of Guadalajara in 1887 and was ordained twelve years later. After strenuous labors in a mining region mission he was made a professor of Latin at the seminary. In 1901, because of his learning he was appointed official translator of the Archdiocese

of Guadalajara. He asked to be admitted into the Jesuit order and in spite of considerable opposition succeeded two years later and took his first vows, October 8, 1905. Sent to Spain for further philosophical studies, Father Diaz completed the three-year course in two years and returned to Mexico. After two years' study in Spain and Belgium he passed his examination for the doctorate in 1912 with the highest qualification given by the Jesuits, and six years later made his final vows. In 1922, Pius XI named him Bishop of Tabasco, where he found it necessary to engage in parish work because of the limited number of priests. Bishop Diaz became the focus for the attacks of the Revolutionary government when he became Secretary of the Mexican Committee of Bishops and in 1927 he was arrested and conveyed to the Guatemala border. After living for a time in New York, Bishop Diaz went to Rome where he was appointed official intermediary between the Holy See and the Mexican bishops. He returned to Mexico with the Apostolic Delegate Archbishop Leopoldo Ruiz y Flores in 1929 when the religious difficulties were settled for a time and immediately visited the Shrine of Our Lady of Guadalupe, where he was informed that he had been named Archbishop of Mexico. He never permitted the use of violence though untiring in his defense of the Church.

Youthful Reading Habits.—An illuminating picture of the reading habits of the American high school student was given after a survey of 47,000 pupils in the New York City high schools. It was reported, May 16, at a meeting of the city's high school English teachers association that 71 percent of these students read chiefly fiction, "a good percentage of it light fiction." Dr. Stella S. Center, president of the association, declared, "The evidence of the survey indicates that pupils lend their minds hospitably to all kinds of fiction and admit that they frequently do not remember the author, the title or the contents of what they read—if such an experience can be called reading." This unbalanced fare "provides entertainment, amusement, escape. It does not develop thinkers capable of accurate appraisal of men and events." Considerable evidence of the popularity of tabloid newspapers was disclosed and in two of the large city high schools a tabloid was voted the students' favorite newspaper. The survey seemed to indicate that while teachers had some influence over their pupils' choice of books, this influence was negligible when it came to magazines and newspapers.

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New York's Marine Front.—Several months ago officers of the New York section of the International Seamen's Union signed a contract with ship owners. This agreement gave the seamen less favorable terms than they had obtained on the Pacific Coast, and the union members had ordered their officers to sign no contract which did not at least equal the Pacific terms. Two months ago a large insurgent group in the union went out on strike under a strike committee led by Joe Curran. The strike has been conducted and opposed with increasing bitterness ever since, and on May 16 the second serious clash

between pickets and police within a week resulted in thirty serious injuries. The strikers and the Citizens' Committee of liberal and radical groups supporting them made charges of police brutality, and Mayor La Guardia agreed to hear their testimony on May 22. Meanwhile Mr. Curran and Police Commissioner Valentine agreed upon methods of mass picketing for the future. The International Longshoremen's Association in New York, under the supposedly conservative leadership of Joseph P. Ryan, has tried to keep neutral, Mr. Ryan protesting that the Curran group is not communistic and apparently has a grievance. New York longshoremen are being hit by the decreased shipping coming into the port of New York because of shippers' fears. The ship operators claim they have signed an agreement, giving \$62.50 a month to deck and engine-room sailors and \$45 to stewards, that they are abiding by it, and that the insurgent seamen are a dangerous element. Liners are regularly being held up for various lengths of time before getting away from New York, and passengers are being disturbed by pickets recalling sea disasters which have resulted from bad crews. Captain George Fried, Supervisor of Steamboat Inspection, held the United States Liner President Roosevelt one hour and fifteen minutes when strikers claimed that the crew was below the standards set by marine law. He inspected the credentials of all the crew and found them well above the legal minimum. Strikers said that there are so many forged credentials being peddled around among scabs that the credentials cannot be trusted.

Arms at Sea.—One of the most elastic naval treaties ever designed—that negotiated at London three months ago to replace the Washington treaty of 1922 and the London treaty of 1930, which expire this year—was ratified by the Senate without a dissenting vote. Ratification by Great Britain and France, the only other signatories, is said to be a foregone conclusion. Japan, by way of the British Foreign Office, is reported to have given informal promises of cooperating in the consultative feature of the measure—the only feature of any importance. The provisions are that categories of fighting ships are defined; there is no limit on building in any of the categories, but no new types will be built; complete information of building plans will be exchanged between the signatory nations and four months notice will be given before new constructions, repairs or purchases are undertaken; and, if a signatory's security is threatened, or a signatory believes that construction by a non-signatory necessitates additional tonnage or new types, notice to the other signatories makes the treaty inoperative. The treaty terminates December 31, 1942. The only objection to it made in the Senate was: "Unless we have Japan, Italy and Germany parties to this treaty, we are placing ourselves and Great Britain at a disadvantage." Chairman Key Pittman of the Foreign Relations Committee replied that bilateral agreements with the countries named would be sought, and that as it stands the treaty means a net gain for the United States, as the latter never has sought to keep its projected naval construction secret and will now be in receipt of information of value to our Navy Department.

The Play and Screen

The Bartered Bride

IT MAY well be that the performance of "The Bartered Bride" during the first week of the popular opera season at the Metropolitan Opera House will mark a turning-point in opera in America. It will not be because of the work itself, for Smetana's comic opera is now an old story; it will not be because of the performance, admirable though it was, for after all Gustav Mahler once conducted it and Emmy Destinn sang Marie; it will not even be because of the fact that it was sung at popular prices; it will be because it proved once and for all that opera can be sung in English and understood. Moreover, it proved that the type of opera of which "The Bartered Bride" is a conspicuous example, in which the humor of lines and situations play so large a part, gains immeasurably when the audience understands those lines and situations. The gales of delighted laughter which swept the auditorium again and again that night last week must have given the old theatre a thrill which it never before had experienced, for though it had experienced opera in English it was the first time in which the singers were truly intelligible. Whether it was the admirable English text by Graham Jones, or the fact that all the singers were either American or English, or the combination of the two, there was very little of the libretto except in the choral numbers which could not be understood. The result was instant and electric: "The Bartered Bride" which though praised by musicians had hitherto little interested the public, suddenly leaped into vibrant life to which a delighted audience responded with laughter and cheers.

Who were primarily responsible for this metamorphosis? First and foremost the singers—Muriel Dickson, formerly prima donna of the D'Oyly Carte Company, whose Marie was delightful in face, figure and acting, and who sang the music with exquisite tone and phrasing; George Rasely, up to then only a church and radio singer, who proved as Wenzel to be the funniest opera comic the present generation has heard; Mario Chamlee, whose splendid singing of Hans made one wonder why the Metropolitan had ever allowed him to depart; Louis D'Angelo, a Kezal who recalled the days when Adamo Didur made that part so peculiarly his own; Wilfred Engelman, Lucille Browning, John Gurney, Agnes Kaskas, Norman Condon, Nathalie Bodanskaya and Ludwig Burgstaller, each one of them an artist. Then there were the ballet and the chorus, and last and perhaps as important as the singers themselves, the splendid conducting of Wilfred Pelletier. These artists made the production of "The Bartered Bride" one of the most delightful events and probably the most significant performance of the operatic year. Never again let them tell us that opera in English is impossible. Moreover, now we know that the lighter types of opera should be sung in English. Only thus sung can they be enjoyed by most who wish to enjoy them. This

is the lesson that this year's "Bartered Bride" has taught. (At the Metropolitan Opera House.)

1935

THE SECOND New York production of the WPA Federal Theatre "Living Newspaper" opens magnificently with Times Square on New Year's Eve, and closes equally magnificently with the same scene; but in between neither the producers' imagination nor most of the acting is of equal quality, though one or two scenes, and notably that in which Huey Long manipulates his puppets, are not without effectiveness. But as an acted-out news-reel the evening somewhat palls, while those taxpayers who do not face Left may well have cause to complain that their money is being used, if not for Left propaganda, at least for scenes which are distinctly Left in mood. (At the Biltmore Theatre.)

GRENVILLE VERNON.

The King Steps Out

GRACE MOORE'S appearance in "The King Steps Out" is considerably more the personification of a gay and vivacious, even capricious, motion-picture heroine of the girl-meets-boy estate than of an operatic singer of the Metropolitan coterie. Her voice is so subordinated to the whirling festivities of an Austrian-Bavarian comic opera motif that on the infrequent occasions when it is raised in song there is too strong a consciousness, in the minds of both singer and spectator, that the opportunities were created solely for the purpose of singing and without attempt to relate them even remotely to the action. Not that Miss Moore's voice is conspicuously inferior to its usual quality. It merely appears to be so because of its forced injection into the plot. Her real opportunities are in playing the part, rather than singing it, and in this connection she does quite well.

On the other side, the production as a whole digresses from Hollywood's monotonous insistency that an opera singer appear only in a story about the opera, backstage or otherwise, or in some subject akin to it. The present tale is entertaining enough as a charming romance of imperial Austria that is unfolded delicately to the soft strains of Fritz Kreisler's beautiful melodies. Miss Moore is cast as one of the seven daughters of King Max of Bavaria who sets out to rescue one of her sisters from a prearranged marriage with the youthful Emperor of Hungary, and, in doing so, falls in love with the Emperor herself, as he with her, to the ultimate satisfaction of all concerned.

The atmosphere is colorful in the costumes and settings, in the fun and carnival-like festivities; and through virtually all of the play the deft touches of Director Joseph Von Sternberg are easily discernible in the continental treatment that is required.

JAMES P. CUNNINGHAM.

Communications

THE EMPLOYER

Columbus, Ohio.

TO the Editor: In *THE COMMONWEAL* of April 10, a letter from Mr. E. J. Mehren finds fault with the unsympathetic atmosphere that prevailed at the Chicago Conference on Industrial Problems, with reference to the employer.

When these conferences were organized it was the distinct purpose of them to bring employers and employees together in a friendly discussion of the differences that prevailed between the two industrial groups. As these conferences developed it has been the purpose of the officers to have the encyclicals of Pope Leo XIII, "Rerum Novarum," and of Pope Pius XI, "Quadragesimo Anno," interpreted as representing the Catholic point of view on the labor question.

Unfortunately employers have never attended these sessions in considerable numbers. Where they have attended, read papers, and participated in discussions, both sides of controversies have been presented. If the discussions at the Chicago meetings were one-sided the employers were to blame for not being present.

The officers of these conferences conduct an open forum with perfect freedom of discussion. The character of those invited to read papers is intended to be an adequate guarantee of the character of the papers. If any attempt was made to determine what went into these papers and what is said from the floor in these discussions the purpose of these conferences would be destroyed, and it is unnecessary to say that the conferences would be wholly without value. The only corrective of the evils of which Mr. Mehren speaks, if any exists, would be the attendance of employers at these conferences in considerable numbers and their participation in the discussions.

Mr. Mehren states in his letter that "the atmosphere was unsympathetic" to the employers. He further says, "if it be desired to convert them, to get them to enter sympathetically and enthusiastically into efforts to rectify present conditions, the approach will have to be radically different from what it was at the Chicago Conference."

Employers are usually able to take care of themselves. Certainly the officers of the conference cannot treat them as children. We cannot assure them in advance that if they will come to the conferences, nothing will be said by the representatives of labor which will hurt their feelings, and that a happy attitude of mind toward them will prevail throughout all the sessions.

J. E. HAGERTY, *President,*
Catholic Conference on Industrial Problems.

Oak Park, Ill.

TO the Editor: A letter in your April 10 issue by Mr. E. J. Mehren has prompted this reply. First may I state that I attended all but one of the discussions during the three days of the conference to which Mr. Mehren referred. With no intention of arousing resent-

ment, I desire to say that the conclusions expressed in his letter puzzled me not a little.

The purpose of the Catholic Conference on Industrial Problems is to encourage frank and free discussion of the problems that arise between employers and employees and to encourage helpful or constructive cooperation between them. How, in all fairness, can blame for any failure to fulfil this purpose be laid to the Chicago conference when in Mr. Mehren's own words the "employers had ample notice and invitation"? "A dozen employers were asked to speak. Only three accepted," he says. I know this to be a fact myself. If the employers' side was not presented fairly at those particular sessions, is it fair to condemn the conference or the employees who contributed toward its success? It is just such lack of cooperation on the part of employers—the purpose for which I am not fitted to state—that gives rise to a situation such as that Mr. Mehren condemns.

From his own words, it seems, the employers' side was not presented because they ignored the invitation. Where is the logic, then, in saying they refused to attend because they were damned and denounced at discussions which, at the time they were invited, had not yet taken place?

REV. BERNARD E. BURNS.

DOWNING STREET AND MUSSOLINI

Rome, April 1.

TO the Editor: In his letter to *THE COMMONWEAL* of March 6, distance lends enchantment to the view of Signor Filipelli. He evidently knows nothing of the "worries, difficulties, obstruction, threats and hostility" that Catholic Action has endured in Italy. He exhibits that blinding super-nationalism, the evils of which the Supreme Pontiff has often pointed out. One asks oneself why such a letter should be published? It has neither reason nor intelligence and gives no accurate information; it expresses feelings not facts. Since there is a free Catholic press in the United States, one wonders why people are so ill-informed. Signor Filipelli condemns an interesting balanced article, most valuable because written by a gentleman of judicial mind—an outsider who does not lay down the law but imparts his views. He says more in favor of Italy than his critic. He says that Fascism spells law and order south of the Appenines which is the best that can be said for it. Like the rest of us he knows that it is, up to now, better than Marxism though it can be very irksome to people used to freedom.

It is an outrage to say that the war in Ethiopia was "sustained by the Church." If a prelate sees fit to put his gold into a war chest, it is his own affair; he is free to do so, though it would seem more suitable to use it for the missions that will be sorely needed to overcome the hostility to Catholicism caused by this war. However, the worthy prelate is not the Church. The Church has always suffered more from within than without. It always has many betrayers. Being the Mystical Body of Christ, its life necessarily resembles Our Lord's in that as in all. There has been more than one Wolsey to bewail his fidelity to an unworthy end.

It is easy to say "most Catholic country and nation," if you don't have to furnish the evidence. On the last day we may know which country shall answer to the claim. Certainly it won't be one of those that boast of the quality of their Catholicism, but probably one that is not even called a Catholic country, as Holland, where quality makes up for quantity, or a country that has suffered for the Faith and kept it, like Ireland or Poland. Perhaps Austria, whose government is nearest the Catholic ideal and is fighting for existence.

Three dictators are menacing the Christian civilization that they have no use for. They speak of honor that they have no use for either; but the saddest thing is that so many people in their delirium give them their moral support, sometimes directly, sometimes indirectly by silence. Prudence is an excellent virtue, but in trying times surely fortitude is better, as it perfects the will.

CHRISTOPHER GUNN.

CATHOLICS AT CORNELL

Ithaca, N. Y.

TO the Editor: Propaganda at the bulletin board of Barnes Hall about "Cornell in China" suggested some comments on Catholics at Cornell. According to the registrar there are nearly 600 of them on the campus. According to the chaplain about 100 do little more than bless themselves; at any rate they do not go to Mass, nor do they identify themselves with the Catholic body. That need not chill one's optimism. Five hundred at Mass, and chanting during Benediction at the daily services of the annual retreat, was surely a fine showing. Every Catholic student received a letter two weeks in advance, the *Cornell Sun* carried a daily announcement, and the retreat was listed on the official calendar of the university.

For the past five years two Masses are held every Sunday in Barnes Hall. That auditorium is no pro-cathedral. Its stage which becomes a Sunday Chancel provides with its somber draperies a suitable setting for the Court Scene of "The Merchant of Venice," or the Trial Scene with Katherine Cornell as Joan of Arc. After Mass the altar is shifted to the property room. Barnes Hall is red brick American Romanesque, its proud neighbors are noble Gothic—the Campanile with its Carillon of fifteen bells, accompanied the Mass with Presbyterian anthems.

Across the lawn is Sage Chapel uniting all divided creeds. I counted its congregation as it departed on Sunday; the number was fewer than the 500 students at Mass, where the young women were in the minority. From many years of observing parochial attendance at retreats, or those given for special organizations, the attendance at Cornell is worthy of notice. I have seen fewer at early Mass during missions than the number of students at Mass and Communion at the *pro tem.* altar in Barnes Hall. Cornell on its hill may not be a symbol of all non-sectarian citadels.

While not disputing the argument that Catholic youth should be encouraged to attend Catholic colleges, the fact remains that all do not, and will not. And there is evidence that they are responsive when the Church comes

close to their campus. To let them alone, to drift at random into parochial pews, though often defended, is hardly the solution. Their status is not the same as youth residing at home, rather are they like a young army called to the colors.

If the observance of a brief retreat be of value, Catholic students at Cornell are mindful of the Psalmists' prayer: *Doce me Domine, bonitatem et scientiam et disciplinam.*

REV. PETER MORAN, C.S.P.

FRANCISCAN SISTERS IN DESPERATE NEED

New York, N. Y.

TO the Editor: The Marquette League for Catholic Indian Missions, with offices at 105 East 22nd Street, New York City, whose work is for the Catholic Indian Missions of this country and Alaska, makes a special appeal each year at this time for some one of its needy missions. This year the appeal is made in behalf of the Franciscan Sisters of St. Mary's Indian Mission School, Odanah, Wisconsin. For over fifty years these Sisters have conducted their school for the Chippewa Indian children of northern Wisconsin. In all that time, this is their first public appeal for assistance. The Sisters write:

"A heavy cut in the financial aid rendered our school for over forty years by a generous benefactor, the complete failure of most of our crops, much repair work on our buildings that had to be done to save them, the bills for which we have not been able, as yet, to pay, combine in forcing us to make this public appeal, the first in our history of a half century.

"Then, in addition to these reasons, the disastrous fire at the Catholic Indian Boarding School at Bayfield recently adds to our problems. It has been decided not to restore the Bayfield Mission School because of the heavy expense entailed, and we have been requested to take over the Indian children now enrolled there. This means that ours will now be the only Catholic Indian Boarding School in northern Wisconsin.

"Again, we have only frame buildings. They deteriorate rapidly in our severe climate and the expense of keeping them in good condition is heavy. Please help us in our dire distress."

His Excellency Most Reverend Theodore H. Reverman, D. D., Bishop of Superior, Wisconsin, in whose diocese St. Mary's School is located, also writes:

"Kindly do what you can for the good Sisters. If their school is forced to close for lack of funds it will be a great calamity. Their appeal has my blessing and approval."

Surely our Catholic people will not turn a deaf ear to the plea of the zealous Franciscan Sisters. What a pity it would be were these little Chippewa Indian children lost to the Faith because of our lack of interest in their welfare. Help the Sisters to keep the doors of their school open to these children of the forest by responding as generously as you can to their worthy appeal.

RT. REV. MSGR. WILLIAM J. FLYNN, P. A.,
Director General, Marquette League.

Books

In Pascal's Vein

The Thinking Reed, by Rebecca West. New York: The Viking Press. \$2.50.

THOSE who have come to expect a penetrating, analytic intelligence in Miss West's work will not be disappointed with her latest novel, the first in seven years. With the wit of a true satirist she paints a devastatingly clear portrait of reason trying to impose order on the chaotic social system founded by the votaries of "wealth, unchastity and disobedience to all standards." Is such a task possible to unaided human reason during periods of emotional strife when the chosen course of action will have a profound effect on the rest of an individual's life? Miss West shows the difficulty of this accomplishment and indicates that complete success is not to be looked for since "the wisdom of one day is the folly of the next." Evidently then, unless reason itself has an eternal, unchanging wisdom for its guide and norm, it can never mold constantly shifting circumstances into a pattern of order.

"Man is but a reed, the most feeble thing in nature; but he is a thinking reed." Thus Pascal in his "Pensées." Miss West's thinking reed is her heroine, Isabelle, a wealthy, young American widow living in pre-depression France. ". . . She liked to bring everything that happened to her under the clarifying power of the intellect." ". . . Isabelle perpetually feared that she might be betrayed into an impulsive act that was destructive to such order as reason had imposed on life." Paradoxically, this very passion for order compels her to a series of seemingly irrational acts that clearly depict powerful internal struggle.

Thus, very deliberately, she plans the violent act of trampling the flowers sent by an unwanted lover before his very door, knowing that the revelation of this assumed facet of her nature would bring the liaison to an end. To heal her pride wounded by the rejection of a man she had set her heart on marrying, she impulsively announces her engagement to a French industrialist who had long yearned for her in vain. To save her husband from his passion for gambling she deliberately makes a scene in the Casino at Le Touquet so violent that it causes a miscarriage of the child she is bearing. She arrives at the sad conclusion that the circumstances precipitating such disorder will always be present in her particular social stratum. If only she were not so wealthy! And the book ironically closes with the faint rumor that the soaring stock market has severed all connection with real values. The implication leaves another whole novel for the reader's imagination.

Little need be said of Miss West's artistry. Her insight into human foibles and her felicity of phrase are almost Horatian. Types and individuals pass in a parade of superb prose that crystallizes a generation which today faces Isabelle's problem of imposing the order of reason on a changed world.

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NEXT WEEK

AZANA, by Owen B. McGuire, gives our readers something it is strange the American press has not presented before: an analysis of the Spanish President through his own writings and through a biography showing whence the writings came. Manuel Azaña y Diaz rejected the Faith through no objective arguments, but on the authority of something within him that demanded "free rein to his personality," and he became a revolutionary and an atheist with a blind hatred of the Church which imposed, as he only saw, "the slavery of fear." The revolutionary ideal he embraces "is exactly an insurrection against history, namely against all the compromise, bonds and prejudices which in Europe have conspired to strangle the spontaneity of human life for two thousand years." . . . MASS IN THE AIR, by George Shuster, tells the fascinating story of Father Schulte which the papers only brushed against when describing the flight of the Hindenburg and the first Mass celebrated in the air. . . . SAINT CECILIA, by Edward A. Maginty, gives the history of the Patroness of Art from the time of her birth at the beginning of the third century to the present time, when scholarship is renewing our awareness of her saintly and beautiful influence on Christian culture, and when, in the development of the vitality and loveliness of the liturgy, we find ourselves led by her ideals. Cecilia, the virgin martyr always celebrated by poets and artists, who "poured upon the infant Church the spirit of human graciousness," and even in the catacombs brought splendor and comeliness, is indeed a splendid and gracious saint to know. . . . A MAN'S JOB, by Gerald Raftery, gives the actual story. It is the small story of someone in the shoe-shining business who wants something to eat, wants to get some sleep and wants to take some money home. He does all this in a small way and doing it, meets a man in a saloon whom he likes. The shoe-shine boy is important.

Hispanic Romance

Crusaders of the Jungle, by Jean Thomas Nelson and J. Fred Rippy. Illustrated by Willis Physioc. Chapel Hill, North Carolina: The University of North Carolina Press. \$3.50.

"CRUSADERS OF THE JUNGLE" is handsomely bound, gaily illustrated and brilliantly jacketed. Also it has the recommendation of the Book of the Month Club, the distinctive impress of the University of North Carolina Press, almost 1,200 citations of source material, and a 13-page index. It does what has never before been done successfully in one volume—it furnishes an almost complete depiction of Spanish missionary efforts in South America—and it does it very well.

Not only does it recount the deeds of individual priests and missionaries, many of whose names are unfamiliar to nearly all historical students, but it also brings to light for the general reader the reports and commentaries of governors, organizations and orders. A good deal of the political history of the colonization movement is also included incidentally; and with its voluminous notes the book should prove indispensable to scholars of the Americas and of considerable interest to all general readers who are historically inclined. The profuse illustrations of Willis Physioc, if not always in the best of taste, are at all times interesting and original, their style resembling a hybrid type between typical sixteenth-century pen and ink work and that of Mr. Hendrik Willem Van Loon.

The first part of the volume furnishes the book-loving reader who has not delved deeply into historic backgrounds with a general setting for Spanish missionary efforts. The second part devotes nine chapters to the accomplishments of particular missions: the Cumana, the Llanos of Caracas, the Guiana, the Orinoco, the Maynas and the Charcas Frontier, and provides interesting historical sketches of the Portuguese, Dutch and Carib menaces. The last part is devoted to summaries of achievements and of the general atmosphere of convent life.

Herein is a chapter entitled "The Blind Shepherds," which many Catholics may not find to their liking. Quotations from more or less prejudiced reports, such as those of Gage and Juan and Ulloa abound, in which the apparent lapses in the conduct of the priests and monks receive no polite gloss. The chief count is reflected in the famous report of Don Toledo, Viceroy of Peru, complaining of attempts on the part of clerics and friars to usurp temporal as well as spiritual authority. Moral lapses, under the conditions endured, are not to be blamed too severely, being more conspicuous by their rarity than by their intent and general effect. As for avariciousness on the part of clerics, one must remember that but little money was forthcoming from Europe, that many foundations were self-supporting, and that the missionaries had no large income from native sources: most of the native wealth being exploited by agents of the *Casa de Contracion* and of the Council of the Indies. If financial exploitation frequently occurred, it must also be remembered that the majority of the proceeds went into new foundations, enabling the missionaries to carry on their future work more

beneficially. Even so, the attitude in general was far different from that which characterized the efforts of English conversion in North America, where the climate was more congenial and the native population of slight numerical importance, with, consequently, an almost complete ignoring of their political and religious preferences.

Whether "the priest goes through the mechanical motions of the Mass while the Indians look on, stolidly indifferent" is not the question—even if the author were able to assert this positively. The final test of Spanish missionary efforts may be noted in comparing the populations and the religious feelings of the natives of the North and South American continents today. When all is said and done, Spanish America is what it is today, in so far as the human element is concerned, because of the successful work of those early missionaries; while the degraded condition of North American aborigines is in sorry contrast indeed to those "whose souls were brought 'mechanically' into the fold of Mother Church."

LLOYD W. ESHLEMAN.

Symbols of the Sod

Man and Beast, by Theodore Maynard. New York: Longmans, Green and Company. \$1.50.

THEODORE MAYNARD, who has written no book of original poems since the "Exile" of 1928, has none the less seen his poetic influence spread on all sides by means of prose and professorial criticism. And now he gives us a new collection which all lovers of his older poems will rightly treasure. For the earlier notes are here, but deepened: the delicate devotion to Nature's "symbols of the sod," along with a direct and pervading consciousness of the Supernatural—the ecstasy of young love scarcely dulled—the whimsicality and vivid sense of color which Chesterton once praised, not dulled at all, merely matured. For while Mr. Maynard can write gorgeously of his native India, as in "Autobiography," his real joy is in the quieter English countryside which he recalls with poignant if quiet nostalgia. And homesickness has, of course, created some of the finest poetry in the world—which is perhaps why life sees to it that the poet remains perennially homesick this side of eternity.

But there is also a fine, firm sense of realism in Mr. Maynard's poetry: a delight in the comic hippopotamus at the zoo as well as in the tawny, tragic tiger; a unique meditation upon the "frail, audacious buttercup," pushing her way through the eye-sockets of a horse's skeleton. Equally there is a manly wish that life may be not only "candid, joyous, just" but that it may yield serenity and honesty to "trouble-burdened man" when youth has fled.

Theodore Maynard is past master of the various meters, so one is not surprised to find him building extremely fine sonnets, or showing a reason for the present popularity of couplets, or giving us lyrics as superlative as the one ending:

"Quiet your heart in the silence;
Let song come as it please—
As winds blow in through the window,
Or apples drop from the trees."

SHEED & WARD

In his second book, *IN THE LIKENESS OF CHRIST* (\$2.50), Fr. Leen presents the principles of the spiritual life, not dogmatically, but by showing them in action in the heart and soul of Our Lord. His emotions and thoughts are in some measure experienced by all who, in a world arrayed against God, will find kinship between what passes in himself and what passes in the mind of God Incarnate.

Of Fr. Leen's former book, *PROGRESS THROUGH MENTAL PRAYER* (\$2.00), *The Ecclesiastical Review* said: "Method in mental prayer is treated with the touch of a true master of the spiritual life. Here is the book that masters of novices have been looking for . . . but wider than this, the book can be placed in the hands of any thinking person and be a source of good." These two books are produced and bound as companion volumes, which indeed they are.

* * * * *

How far have the various race outlooks with which she has come into contact influenced the form of the Church's life? How far may they be allowed to influence it? And how is it that saints tend to be so extraordinarily typical of their nation at its best? (Who is more French than St. Louis, or who is more Italian than St. John Bosco?) These matters and all that belongs to the relation between religion and nationality are discussed in Johannes Pinski's *CHRISTIANITY AND RACE* (\$1.00), which follows Francois Mauriac's *God and Mammon* in the new series of *Essays in Order*.

* * * * *

The few reviewers who don't like Erik von Kuhnelt-Leddihn's second novel, *NIGHT OVER THE EAST*, which we published last month, seem even more insistent than the ones who do, that anyway you must read it. . . . T. S. Gregory's *UNFINISHED UNIVERSE* (a Catholic Book Club selection) has had a different fate—practically all the reviewers have been enthusiastic, but with a note of doubt about whether any book with so much thought in it can really be read—which will be something of a challenge to *Commonweal* readers. . . . Chesterton's *WELL AND THE SHALLOWS* is recommended for this weather—it sounds cool, even if you do get hot with indignation and laughter when you actually read it.

* * * * *

Sheed & Ward *SAMPLERS*, already announced, are moving in shoals. The first six authors are Chesterton, Dawson, Noyes, Hoffman, Maritain, and Msgr. Fulton Sheen. Each "sample" gives you 32 pages from the author's works, arranged to show the general trend of his thought, also a portrait, and a sketch of his life. They cost 25c each or a dollar for five.

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To at least the present reviewer, certain longish and more technical experiments seem less happy, and the "Coronation Ode"—celebrating Our Lady's Assumption and Crowning—is just a little too much like its title. By the same personal equation, two of the most memorable poems in the book are emphatically two of the most characteristic: "The Reluctant One," a belated praise of the unwilling son in the Gospel parable, and "Mysterious Music," where a distinctly mystical experience is almost hypnotically recorded in words as colloquial as Robert Frost's.

KATHERINE BRÉCY.

Propaganda

M-Day, by Rose M. Stein. New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company. \$2.50.

SOME years ago, about when THE COMMONWEAL was first being published, there was a trend toward trying to make of biography and history popular commodities by boldly mixing fiction with fact. The late Henry L. Stuart, then of THE COMMONWEAL staff, in season and out protested against what he considered the uncontrollable degeneracy that this type of writing would lead to. The present volume is of a new, but somewhat analogous type of popular innovation, equally dangerous because there is no telling where it will stop and it does violence at least to prudent thought, when it does not do violence deliberately to truth. It belongs to the class-conscious, proletarian literature which considers that dialectical materialism is superior to telling a fair, balanced story. It is exciting, as all prejudiced works are, because to partizans it is pleasing and to non-partizans, it is exasperating. Add to the formula of determined dialectical Bolshevism, let the chips fall where they may, haste—which is, or used to be, characteristic of daily journalism, and the practise of what in journalism is called "blowing up" a story, that is, giving it a hectic, "inside stuff," hot news appearance—and we have a product of sound and fury which is calculated to lead to some idiocy on the part of the injudicious readers who absorb their mental pabulum from such sources.

The author of the present book was an investigator for the Nye committee, investigating the munitions and war supplies business and its relation to war and peace. Heaven knows that hers is a serious subject and important. The findings of the entire committee and of all the investigators deserve the most careful, impartial analysis, and they should in time receive this. The present book, however, tortures the evidence, and adds what in court and in any decent forum is called "unweighted evidence" of the author's own (that is, evidence which pays no, or too scant, respect to what can be said on the other side), to establish that America's entering the war was a conspiracy of a clique of greedy and atrociously venal business men, on the one hand, and of anti-Bolshevists, on the other hand, with some duplication in these two categories. It is a long story, as told, and to do justice to the other side would take almost as long. Suffice it to say that the Nye committee itself found in open hearings no conspir-

acy, no plot, huge, cloudy and deranged; although it did dig up a great deal of extremely vital information about the steps leading up to a war. Miss Stein may have written with complete integrity of willing to tell the truth, the whole truth and nothing but the truth; I submit, however, that this is violently ex-parte argument, which is, as has been said, exciting about matters which are intrinsically of the greatest importance. She writes well, if a little stridently.

FREDERIC THOMPSON.

A Good King

Albert of Belgium, Defender of Right, by Emil Cammaerts. New York: The Macmillan Company. \$5.00.

THE CURTAIN of indifference drawn by French and English writers over the great part played by Belgium before, during and after the Great War has at last been withdrawn. Emil Cammaerts gives us a compact study of these periods, throwing a new light on Old World diplomacy, and many stirring episodes of the late war.

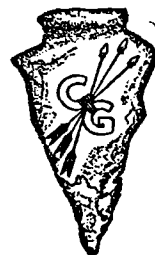
As a biography "Albert of Belgium" places before us a graphic picture of the Soldier King, whose life was bound up with the history of Belgium during its period of great trial. In his portrayal of King Albert's personal life from childhood onward to his reigning years the author brings to the fore the influences that molded the King's character, making of him such an outstanding leader of his time. But this chronicle is more than a biography, as it brings to our notice evidence which throws light on the path Belgium traveled under the guidance of Leopold I, and traces the attitude of the Great Powers toward her from the time she became united as one country to the present. The reasons are given for the slowness of the Allies in coming to Belgium's rescue. There are other important revelations, and vital documents, such as the treaty of 1839; the way this treaty was upheld in 1870, during the war between France and Germany, and the gradual crumbling of its strength, as the after-effects of that struggle, are also explained.

In the summary of the actual conflict, Emil Cammaerts pays particular attention to the part played by Albert the Good, and the influence he wielded through his popularity as ruler of his country. Few events of the war were more striking than the delayed actions, from the Forts of Liege to the stand on the Yser, which the army went through under him as commander-in-chief. The final chapters deal with the reconstruction of devastated Belgium, and the political difficulties she encountered from her former brothers-in-arms while trying to gain her point at the peace conference, also the strife and schisms which cropped up even among those who had stood by each other through the long years of suffering.

In closing, Emil Cammaerts sets forth the characteristics which guided King Albert throughout his life in public and private matters. And finally there is the tragic ending of one who had become such a symbol of right to his people and the world at large.

P. H. WILLIAMS.

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For the New Deal

Recovery Unlimited: The Administration's Monetary Policy and the Current Boom, by Chester T. Crowell.
 New York: Covici, Friede. \$1.50.

CHESTER T. CROWELL, former special assistant to the Secretary of the Treasury, sets out to prove that "we planned it that way"—and that way is pictured as something very fine indeed, made up of current conditions, probabilities and optimistic hopes. The book, or pamphlet, is an able exposition of the New Deal by one who believes in it whole-heartedly. The author believes the government both could and had to stop the deflation of the depression and he shows that the administration had an integrated program for doing this and carried it through with general success. He believes the value of NRA was checked because it required more cooperation than it could get. He thinks the borrowing and relief were productive elements of the program and that taxes are not hindering it. The housing part of the program is scheduled now to forge ahead into "the coming boom in home-building." Most emphasis is placed on monetary policy, but no crystal clarity results. He successfully demolishes the gold standard, automatic kind of economist but does not thoroughly build up managed currency. Probably it is not yet comprehensible. Mr. Crowell dwells on the international aspects of money at the expense of domestic purposes. Most persuasive in showing that government must "do something" with economy and that the New Deal was an intelligible mode of action, the book does not convince one that the New Deal can satisfy the extravagant claim of furnishing recovery, unlimited by a speculative "noisy party" and another depression.

Toward the Flame

Young Mr. Disraeli, by Elswyth Thane. New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company. \$3.00.

A ROMANTIC biography ought, no doubt, to stress the love story in a man's life, and Miss Thane's book does that rather deftly. As a matter of fact, one fancies it ought to be termed a pretty good novel, despite a number of mannerisms, a certain British flair for the latest in stylistic fads, and a jauntiness that almost dispels the impression of underlying fact. The character is an exceptionally interesting person, and the author knows the texture of reality. What more could one require?

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